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ABSTRACT

EVALUATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE OF 55 EARLY (1963-66) EXPERIMENTAL AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS CONDUCTED IN 18 STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA UNDER THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT OF 1962 TO REACH AND SERVE YOUTH FOR WHOM THE CONVENTIONAL APPROACHES, TECHNIQUES, AND PERSONNEL SEEMED INADEQUATE. EXPERIENCES AND RESULTS OF THE PROJECTS ARE ORGANIZED UNDER EIGHT HEADINGS: IMPACT ON THE COMMUNITY; RECRUITMENT AND COMMUNITY PENETRATION; TESTING, COUNSELING, AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES; BASIC EDUCATION; PREVOCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS; JOB PLACEMENT, CREATION, AND DEVELOPMENT; USING NONPROFESSIONALS; AND RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AND PROBLEMS. APPROACHES ARE NOTED WHICH MIGHT BE APPLICABLE ELSEWHERE, AND ALTERNATIVES ARE SUGGESTED. THE DOCUMENT INCLUDES A LIST OF PROJECTS AND ABBREVIATIONS. (LY)

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PREFACE

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 authorized experimental and demonstration projects to test new ideas for helping seriously disadvantaged people to become workers. A limited number of such projects were conducted in the next few years. The results were so encouraging that in 1965 the MDTA was amended to provide specific authority and financing to carry out a larger program.

Projects for young people—testing new approaches to getting them off the unemployment rolls and into worthwhile jobs—have always been given high priority. Many of the techniques developed in these projects have been incorporated into ongoing programs. Others not given widespread publicity have had less spinoff. And some techniques that have been tried have been judged failures.

In order to disseminate as widely as possible the successes and the limitations of the innovative approaches to youth employment, in 1967 William Mirengoff, at that time Deputy Director of the Manpower Administration's Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research and now Acting Director of the Job Corps, instituted "Operation Retrieval."

This exercise gathered together the reports, files, and written records of 55 E&D youth projects conducted under the MDTA, and organized the experiences and results under eight major headings. As the next step in the operation, consulants—experts in the individual areas under scrutiny—studied the records, visited project sites, and submitted analytical reports. These reports are presented in ***Breakthrough for Disadvantaged Youth***

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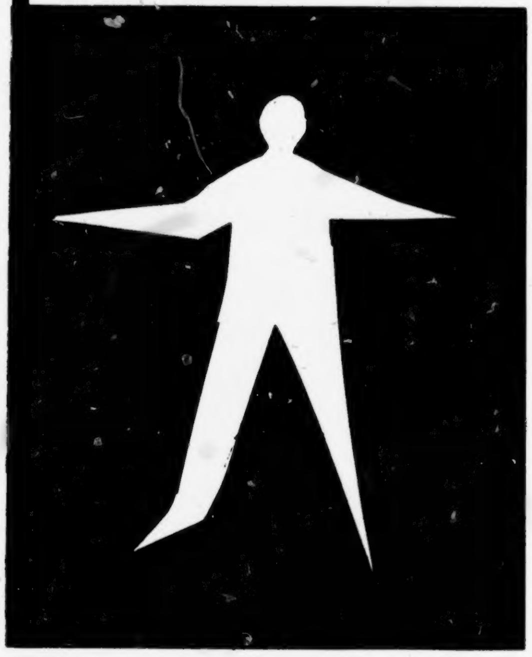

introduction

Since the enactment of the Manpower Development and Training Act in 1962, a series of small currents, cutting new channels and probing new ground, have paralleled the flow of the mainstream training programs.

It is with these experimental and demonstration probings that this volume is concerned. It is an attempt to retrieve, evaluate, and disseminate the experience of 55 early (1963-66) E&D projects which were designed to reach and provide manpower services to youth for whom the conventional approaches, techniques, and personnel seemed inadequate.

Hopefully, the identification of successful concepts, procedures, and organizational forms —as well as of shortcomings and false steps— will enable those who are tackling similar problems to take advantage of what has been developed and found helpful.

Eight basic areas of a comprehensive training system—from intake through counseling and basic education; from occupational training to job development and placement—were considered in evaluating the projects.

For each of these program components, as well as for research, community relations, and the use of nonprofessionals, a writer was selected who had a significant background in the field—particularly in relation to the problems of disadvantaged youth. The task of these authors was: (1) To scrutinize the E&D materials, with particular reference to their special areas; (2) to retrieve the experiences; (3) to evaluate the programs, bringing to bear their own background and expertise; (4) to identify those experiences which might be replicated; and finally (5) to suggest alternative approaches.

Each author proceeded in his own way, but all shared several common sources of information. Each had at his disposal the complete files of the projects, including the periodic and final reports. In addition, each visited the projects most relevant to his special area which were still operating when he began his research.

No predetermined position or format was imposed on the authors. The variety of approaches used in the eight articles they prepared attest to this.

The Department of Labor, for its part, does not necessarily associate itself with the conclusions or recommendations of the authors —other than to acknowledge their relevance to the problems addressed.

Although each of the articles deals with a single, rather clearly defined subject, one question is raised in all of them. That question involves the basic purpose of the E&D program. Is the major objective *experimentation*, or is it providing *services*? Most of the authors conclude that, although the name was "experimentation," the game most often was "service."

This ambivalence characterized the early period of Manpower Development and Training Act programs and is not, even now, completely absent.

The MDTA program was originally conceived as a tool to retrain unemployed but "job-ready" workers who were adversely affected by automation or other structural changes, such as the movement of industry, shifts in consumer demands, and resource depletion. MDTA at its inception focused on problems associated with the existing labor force, using existing arrangements.

But even during this early period, it was recognized that the existing patterns were inadequate for some groups. Providing meaningful manpower services for these persons required special tailor-made approaches.

At the same time, another need was recognized. This was the need for an experimental capability—a built-in agent for change.

Both of these objectives—service for special groups and an instrument for innovation —were pursued.

However, the urgencies of special service soon overwhelmed the importance of experimental research, even though the title "experimental and demonstration" still was generally used.

This emphasis was perhaps inescapable, given the social ferment, the newness of this publicly supported manpower development activity, the unmet needs of large segments of the population, and the backgrounds of the directors of E&D projects.

However, as existing institutions, using the experiences of E&D, became more responsive to special group needs; as the emphasis of the MDTA mainstream programs became increasingly directed to the disadvantaged; and as other programs specifically for the poor were authorized, it became increasingly possible for the E&D program to focus on more formally structured experimentation.

It was felt that, while service is an integral function of an E&D project, the innovations developed and their influence on major institutions in society are, in the long run, more important than the number of youth who receive services in a particular demonstration project.

Even though E&D projects were keenly service oriented, they were nonetheless experimental in nature—in the sense that they were exploratory, flexible, and innovative. They did try new approaches without the restraints inherent in established agencies.

In short, the projects discussed in this volume did break through the old patterns and did turn up a wealth of new ideas.

It is with these breakthroughs that this volume is concerned.

The legal basis for these projects, during the early MDTA period, was largely implicit. It rested on: (1) The authority given to the Secretary of Labor to provide "a special program for the testing, counseling, selection, and referral of youths . . . for occupational training and further schooling . . ." and (2) the mandate to carry out the responsibilities of MDTA ". . . through the maximum utilization of all possible sources for skill development available in industry, labor, public and private education and training institutions, . . . and other appropriate public and private organizations and facilities."

However, Congress in 1965 amended the MDTA to give the Secretary of Labor explicit authority to "establish a program of experimental, developmental, demonstration and pilot projects . . . with public or private nonprofit organizations . . . for the purpose of improving techniques and demonstrating the effectiveness of specialized methods in meeting the manpower, employment, and training problems of worker groups such as . . . disadvantaged youth. . . ."

This specific legislative authority strengthened the base of the E&D program, provided specific financial resources (which removed the competition of E&D projects for regular program funds), and helped lead to improved relationships between E&D projects and regular manpower programs.

The MDTA program proved to be only the first of a series of new manpower programs aimed at bringing to the center of the American economy those who have traditionally subsisted at its edges. In addition, long-established institutions began to redirect their efforts in order to serve the disadvantaged better.

To programs of both kinds, the new and the old, the breakthroughs of the E&D program have provided valuable experiences.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the E&D program was to emphasize that programs could and should be built around the needs of individuals, rather than exclusively around the needs of the job market. Increasing recognition was given to the proposition that the work environment as well as the worker can be changed—that institutional as well as personal barriers must be removed. Having chosen the client-oriented approach, the early E&D projects then proceeded to demonstrate that providing comprehensive supportive services in programs for the disadvantaged was feasible and necessary in order to reach, motivate, prepare, train, place, and retain hard-core youth. Most of the subsequent development of major manpower programs reflected this approach. The Concentrated Employment Program, the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, the Multiservice Neighborhood Centers, and the Human Resources Development concept, as well as the trend toward a comprehensive manpower service system—all are rooted in the emphases nurtured by early E&D efforts.

The importance and workability of outreach—the realization that for significant segments of the population the mere existence of programs is not enough to insure participation—were amply demonstrated in most E&D projects. Alienation, lack of information, and insufficient motivation must all be overcome. The E&D projects showed that, in some instances, this could be done by bringing the program to the client group; in other cases the use of indigenous personnel proved to be the effective link between the program and the group.

This approach was quickly adopted by the employment service system, first in establishing Youth Opportunity Centers and later in applying the Human Resources Development concept. Today, virtually all human resources programs directed to the disadvantaged seek to incorporate this capability.

Related to outreach is the use of nonprofessionals. Many of the E&D projects experimented with using indigenous people to act as a bridge between the program and the community and to supplement the work of the professional staff. Their contribution was not limited to reaching out and bringing the client group into the program. They were also used to assist in counseling, to act as aides and coaches, to follow up youth placed in jobs, and in a variety of other capacities.

Today the nonprofessional is an indispensable part of the manpower program strategy. Indeed, the New Careers Program is designed to move poor people up the occupational ladder into positions in human service fields such as those they held in E&D projects.

The E&D projects also found that many disadvantaged people need preemployment preparation in order to become job ready; for many persons basic education and some grounding in work habits are as important as the development of work skills and, indeed, are a prerequisite to them. The full realization of this led to the passage of several amendments to MDTA authorizing prevocational activities as regular program components under the act. These activities are now an essential part of skills centers, CEP, JOBS, and other manpower programs.

One of the earliest E&D projects, focusing on the inadequacy of available verbal tests in assessing the capabilities of disadvantaged persons, sought to develop work sampling as an alternate means of assessment. Another proved the effectiveness of using basic educational instructional material closely related to the vocational skills being taught and to the environment with which the trainee is familiar.

Work crews, which are the keystone of many work-training programs for out-of-school youth, were pioneered in E&D projects.

Some of the most useful outcomes of the E&D program were the ideas incorporated in the JOBS Now project. Three major considerations were encompassed in this approach. First is immediate job placement. For many disadvantaged youth with a history of repeated defeats, this satisfies a deeply felt need. Secondly, training in the work-a-day world imparts an air of reality lacking in an off-the-job situation. The third facet involves the commitment and leadership of the business community and its willingness to lower barriers and create an environment in which disadvantaged employees can function successfully.

This is not to suggest that supportive services such as basic education, grounding in work habits, counseling, and followup are unnecessary. Far from it. But they can be provided in a plant situation—along with training on the job.

It is this design, developed through E&D probing and analysis, that underlies the JOBS Program—now the largest component in the Department of Labor's manpower effort.

A stream of other innovations flowed from the E&D efforts. Group counseling, training and placement of prison inmates, work with persons rejected by the Armed Forces, labor union participation in programs for the disadvantaged, and many other new techniques have found their way into established programs and hastened the development of new programs.

Since MDTA was first enacted, major gains have been made in the general understanding of the disadvantaged and in the willingness and ability of institutions such as the State employment services and educational agencies to work with those who once were screened out.

These gains are due to the rising awareness, among people at every income level, that economic and social opportunities must be open to all Americans.

That we are not groping altogether in the dark—that we have at least some idea of the barriers to be overcome and of the organizational measures and techniques to use in surmounting them—is due in great measure to the projects whose lessons are brought out in this volume.

Certainly, much, much more testing of new techniques needs to be done. But the articles in this volume tell how these efforts began, and very much here can be useful indeed to those who will pioneer the further refinements and improvements still needed.

Taken together, these articles constitute a broad report on early E&D experience and findings with respect to meeting the employment preparation problems of disadvantaged youth.

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Editor
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experimental and demonstration programs

impact on the community

Edward M. Glaser
and
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breakthrough for disadvantaged youth

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IMPACT ON THE COMMUNITY

The purpose of this survey is to evaluate the impact made on community agencies and institutions at the local and national levels by the experimental and demonstration (E&D) youth projects funded by the Manpower Administration (MA). The projects were directed toward developing and demonstrating new ways of meeting the employment needs of disadvantaged youth.

There were more than 50 such youth projects between passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) in 1962, and the time this survey was made. Fourteen of them were visited in connection with this study. Project directors and key staff, when available, were interviewed and some phone calls were made to other agencies. In the main, however, the impact information reported here represents the collated views of E&D project directors and their staffs, and has the obvious limitation of less-than-comprehensive inputs. We believe, however, that experience reported by directors and others from a sample of 14 important E&D projects is relevant and valuable.

For the purposes of this study we view impact as having two major aspects: (1) The degree to which projects secured cooperation from agencies and institutions relevant to the realization of project goals; and (2) the degree of utilization of project findings by other agencies and institutions.

In some areas served in the E&D projects, cooperation from established agencies and institutions was successfully secured. In many instances cooperation was the result of lengthy, difficult negotiations which delayed project operations and limited overall project effectiveness. These problems of cooperation can be attributed to three main sources: negative attitudes, insufficient resources, and inadequate planning.

In extreme cases, there were negative attitudes of defensiveness and hostility on the part of the established operating agency staff members. They saw the projects as encroaching on their areas of competence and activity. The very existence of an E&D project implied criticism of their efforts. They could not or would not accept changes. Policies were inflexible in the hands of agency personnel. They worked in a slow and methodical manner as contrasted with E&D staff members who felt a constant sense of urgency and pressure about their goals. This clash of conflicting attitudes hardly could facilitate quick and easy cooperation.

Many agencies which would have been delighted to cooperate in working on certain E&D projects were unable to do so because their resources were already stretched to the limit by other demands. Agency staff were unable to spare space, equipment and personnel to projects when they lacked enough for their own needs.

Too much speed, when unadjusted to the internal needs of the project, usually fails to correlate with quality, developmental maturity and efficiency of operation. Most E&D projects were launched with great pressure to "hurry up and get the show on the road."

The "show" does get on the road faster that way, and some real needs are met more immediately. But one can expect at least a larger-than-otherwise batch of wrinkles to appear in the process which call for subsequent ironing out. The speed with which E&D projects got underway often precluded planning time to pretrain and orient the staff to the project's own philosophy, methods, and goals, and to establish cooperative relationship with outside agencies. Yet planning, training, and establishing cooperative outside relationships are essential to optimum success of a project.

Aside from time pressures, it is our observation that many of the E&D project personnel had insufficient experience for the responsibilities they were asked to handle. It thus became tempting and perhaps natural to project the blame for their difficulties onto the established agencies. If the E&D people had displayed as much ingenuity in approaching established agencies as they did in approaching problem individuals, the record concerning cooperation might well read better. If we had interviewed persons from established agencies regarding E&D project operations, we probably would have received just as large a laundry list of complaints.

Nonetheless, the new concepts, approaches, and techniques tested in E&D projects have to a remarkable extent found their way into the operating practices of established institutions as well as into the developing antipoverty programs. Some of these are summarized below:

Outreach

The technique used by E&D projects of recruiting youth in their own neighborhoods—New York City, Mobilization for Youth (MFY) and Police Athletic League (PAL); New Haven, Conn., Community Progress, Inc. (CPI), and elsewhere—has become an integral part of the Youth Opportunity Centers (YOC's) and numerous other antipoverty programs.

Group Counseling

This type of counseling, including multihour and multiday sessions demonstrated in Los Angeles—Youth Opportunities Board (YOB) of Greater Los Angeles and Youth Training and Employment Projects (YOB-YTEP) in Chicago—Job Opportunities through Better Skills (JOBS); and in other projects, is being used widely in YOC's and other human development-manpower programs.

Use of Nonprofessionals

Many of the E&D projects demonstrated the value of indigenous personnel and other nonprofessionals in various important project roles. Nonprofessionals are now used on a large scale in most antipoverty programs. The Bureau of Employment Security (BES), Manpower Administration, Counselor Aide University Summer Education (CAUSE) program was an outgrowth of E&D experience.

Work Sample Testing

This technique was developed and demonstrated by the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS) in E&D projects it sponsored in Philadelphia and St. Louis, Mo. Now, four YOC's in New York are subcontracting for this service. BES has requested funds for work sample testing for the Philadelphia YOC and is considering the adoption of this technique by the YOC's on a nationwide basis.

Instructional Materials

Materials developed first by the Bedford-Stuyvesant, New York Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) project and a Department of Labor program later were further developed by educational research firms, and then were picked up by the National Automobile Dealers Association for a nationwide training program. Programed instructional materials developed by the E&D project at the Draper Correctional Center, Elmore, Ala., have aroused nationwide interest and probably will be used in other correctional institutions, and by other institutions serving people with comparable education.

Postplacement Counseling

Most E&D projects found this highly useful to assist project graduates in adjusting to new jobs. Ongoing counseling was also recognized to be vital to maintaining trainee motivation and handling adjustment problems during various types of training. Many YOC's and other manpower programs now utilize these techniques.

The One-Stop Neighborhood Multiservice Center

Most E&D projects found that the ready availability of comprehensive services was necessary to prepare realistically the disadvantaged for employment. The frequent need for physical and mental health services, rehabilitation services, basic skills training, legal and other services was amply demonstrated. As a result, enabling legislation was passed and guidelines were promulgated embodying the multiservice neighborhood center concept. Partial implementation of the concept has occurred in the YOC's and in several State and local antipoverty programs, such as at the San Francisco Committee (Hunter's Point Project.)

Work Crews

The concept of small, carefully supervised work crews, with the later refinement of varied and graded work experience, was developed and demonstrated by MFY, CPI, and the Mayor's Youth Employment Project in Detroit (MYEP). This concept subsequently has been adopted by the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) in many areas.

Training, Placement, and Support for Prison Inmates

This procedure was successfully demonstrated by the Lorton Youth Correctional Center, Lorton, Va., and the Draper E&D projects. Now, through MDTA amendment, correctional institutions throughout the Nation are authorized to apply for pilot program funds to conduct institutional training for inmates, coupled with efforts to find jobs in the community before the prisoner is released, and with followup counseling support. The learning and experience from the Draper project were widely shared through a series of conferences, the first of which was held in Montgomery, Ala., May 23-25, 1967, and was attended by over 100 persons from 15 States.

Armed Forces Cooperation

The National Committee for Children and Youth (NCCY), Washington, D.C., sponsors of an E&D project, received referrals from Armed Forces recruiting offices of youth rejected as volunteers for military service. It was found that disadvantaged youth, at this critical point, were more than usually amenable to manpower services aimed at remedying the deficiency which rendered them unfit for the armed services. Manpower services performed by YOC's are being linked to Armed Forces recruiting facilities in a number of cities across the Nation.

Labor Union Participation

Although efforts to gain labor union participation have met with mixed success in the E&D projects, the experiences of the National Institute of Labor Education (NILE) projects as well as MFY, JOBS, and the Citizens Committee on Youth (CCY) in Cincinnati, Ohio, among others, clearly demonstrated the necessity for and possibility of having close union involvement in the planning and operation of training programs, particularly in the apprenticeship area. The NILE-developed training programs, involving both institutional and on-the-job training, were union-sponsored and designed to enable trainees to meet apprenticeship requirements. This approach, while only partially successful, appears to hold much promise if the lessons learned are applied in the future.

Employer Involvement

E&D projects in St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, and New York City were particularly successful in securing job openings from major employers. Job development staff members from these projects could be profitably employed as consultants to other E&D projects and to a wide variety of antipoverty programs involving job development. As consultants they could communicate their insights and experiences to good effect in this difficult area.

Urban Redevelopment

The Urban Conservation project in Cincinnati demonstrated that disadvantaged youth could gain valuable work experience, and in some cases preapprentice training, in the building trades while helping to rehabilitate deteriorated homes under union journeyman supervision. There is widespread interest in this model, and in a number of cities efforts are being made to adopt it. The U.S. Department of Labor (USDL) and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) have been collaborating in this area to develop models which can be utilized in other communities.

In addition to the foregoing categories of impact (cooperation and utilization), E&D projects have contributed to a number of positive legislative and institutional changes. For example:

—Amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) extended work experience to adults, where before it was confined to NYC enrollees.

—Through outcomes of experience with earlier projects it was determined that eligibility for training allowances should be broadened and that training allowances should be increased.

—The Federal Government has created new job categories and made changes in civil service regulations to broaden opportunities for disadvantaged persons.

—MDTA has been amended since 1962 (drawing in many cases on E&D experience) to provide a special program for the testing, counseling, selection, and referral of disadvantaged youth 16 years or older for occupational training and further schooling, and a similar referral program, when necessary, for persons 45 years or older and for others in need of basic education, communications and employment skills to render them employable. In addition, there is now provision for appropriate physical examinations, medical treatment and prostheses up to $100 per person. The amendments further provide an experimental program for part-time training of persons, including employed, to meet skill shortages where they exist in given areas or occupations. Beneficiaries under State plans for payment under Social Security Act programs receive a special type of payment for expenses and incentive in lieu of training allowances and these amounts are not counted as income in determining amounts to be paid such beneficiaries. Provision has been made (up to June 30, 1969) to develop and carry out E&D programs of training and education for persons in correctional institutions in order for them to obtain employment upon release.

—Perhaps the major institutional outcomes of the E&D projects, at least within the Labor Department programs, have been the establishment of YOC's and the Human Resources Development (HRD) Centers. The latter extend to hard-to-place adults the same kind of assistance now provided primarily to youth through the YOC's.

HOW TO IMPLEMENT IMPACT

- Increase program staff of the funding agency to facilitate closer and more frequent contact with projects, including quicker response to requests from projects.
- Build utilization plans, including budget and staffing provision, into project proposals.
- Begin evaluation or followup studies early enough during the project's life so that projects may benefit from ongoing feedback and the evaluation may profit from early data collection capability and contact with project staff and experiences which often are unavailable during the later stages of a project.
- Involve individuals from both potential users and cooperating agencies and institutions in the planning, operation, and evaluation of E&D projects. Also involve key staff from agencies in related fields as consultants.
- Give new E&D projects sufficient lead time to contact and carefully inform and involve relevant local community agencies and institutions regarding project aims and general approach or means for achieving them.
- Conduct specialized group "sensitivity training" sessions, including E&D project staff from cooperating community agencies.
- Conduct regional conference sessions where projects can share experiences with each other and with funding agencies.
- Plan and fund more utilization projects in which key E&D staff from successful projects act as trainers and "innovation catalysts" in regular programs.
- Utilize E&D experienced personnel to de-

velop project staff training programs in the area of job development—in relation to both unions and employers. Reduced job-finding caseloads, or increased staff, may be necessary to permit real job development.

- Develop closer liaison between MA and the U.S. Office of Education (OE) to stimulate State and local vocational educators to develop new knowledge and increase the use of existing knowledge to make MDTA instructional and basic communication skills training much more appropriate to the needs of the disadvantaged. Currently, E&D projects have insufficient authority to press effectively for improvements in special teaching skills and training curriculums.
- Provide E&D staff and other experts in a consultant role to help YOC's and other antipoverty programs implement techniques spelled out in their own E&D-influenced guidelines.
- Institute career service awards, or a sabbatical time period (6 months to 1 year)—no more often than every 4 years nor less than 7 years—for all key professional and administrative staff who are judged capable of thereby making a significant contribution to MA, the Government, and their own development.
- Provide inservice training for MA professional program staff and research people in report writing and editing.
- Refrain from funding any project, no matter how needed or valuable the service it proposes to perform, until the E&D and service design has been coupled with some appropriate means—control groups, or before/after measures, video-tape recordings, or whatever may be appropriate to the given situation and type of project—for measuring efficacy of the different parts of the service to be offered and of the total intervention effort.
- Support studies of the dynamics of unusually successful projects as soon as it appears evident that a breakthrough or major advance of some kind is being achieved. By "dynamics" we mean the living elements of what the people involved did to achieve the seemingly unusual results, not just the outcome statistics or summaries of procedures and forms. Video-tape recordings, participant-observer case study reports, recorded interviews with those involved (E&D project staff, clients, other agencies, etc.) may be appropriate for this purpose.
- Collate, publish and keep up to date the valuable learnings, successful procedures and techniques from E&D projects in clear, concise, easily-usable state-of-the-art reports, so that other workers tackling similar problems can take advantage of what already has been developed and found clearly helpful.

On an overall basis, E&D project impact has been very significant. In addition to the outcomes that have been summarized, a number of E&D projects have been spun off to become components of Community Action Programs (CAP), and others have continued on a regular basis with BES or Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT) funding. The Hunter's Point project became a YOC and it is likely that the Neighborhood House (NH) project, in North Richmond, Calif., where State Employment Service (ES) personnel are in the same building with the E&D project staff, will soon come under permanent ES auspices.

Negative findings also have been of value. While many projects were unsuccessful in relation to their stated objectives, and in too many projects, competent evaluation of intervention outcomes was almost impossible because faulty research design would not permit assessment of relative efficacy, some valuable lessons were learned about how not to proceed. For example, the failure of normal communication media to be effective in outreach efforts; the inapplicability of standard educational achievement and aptitude measures, such as the U.S. Employment Service (USES) General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB); the inadequacy of available basic education materials for persons with low reading ability at the time the E&D programs got started; the inability of the indigenous nonprofessionals to perform all tasks in the role of aides—all led to a creative thrust for the development of new training devices and approaches to fill unmet needs.

The worth of many manpower program innovations has been demonstrated and, no doubt, there are additional constructive influences which have yet to be explicitly identified and documented. The problems of achieving improved dissemination and utilization of worthwhile findings now are receiving belated but heartening and effective attention by several Government agencies, among them the MA, the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), the Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS), and OE.

An Interagency Project Review Committee, instituted early in 1966, brought together representatives of Federal agencies such as OE, USES, BAT, and others, such as SRS when appropriate. The cooperation of these agencies was essential for the effective local operation of E&D projects. This Committee has smoothed out many of the complaints that previously had been encountered, many of which were recounted and reported in the course of this survey. The need for such a committee was demonstrated by experience on earlier E&D projects.

FOCUS OF STUDY

The major purposes of this study are:

1. To identify areas of differences between the E&D youth projects and public and private community organizations and institutions concerned with manpower problems of disadvantaged youth.

2. To describe the nature and outcomes of situations where little or no success was achieved in resolving conflicts between the E&D project and one or more ongoing community organizations and institutions.

3. To describe the events where observable impact on community organizations and institutions was made, such as institutional change through use of new techniques and development of new regulations, by one or more projects.

4. To identify the relative effectiveness of various strategies used to maximize the impact of the project on public and private organizations and institutions.

5. To identify the short-term and long-term implications of those situations where significant impact was made by the projects.

6. To suggest strategies and procedures for maximizing the impact to be made by future E&D projects on established public and private organizations and institutions at local and national levels.

The term impact as used in this paper refers to (1) success in involving the assistance of regular agencies and institutions in achieving E&D project goals, and (2) success in achieving the dissemination and utilization of the techniques, knowledge, and information by permanent public and private agencies and groups responsible for meeting the employability needs of disadvantaged youth.

The goal of impact is to effect positive change in the traditional or regular agency or institution. Change can take place in many ways and at many levels. For example, as a result of E&D project findings, an ES or local school system might adopt group counseling as a means of assisting more youth, without an increase in professional manpower. Changes might take place in employers' attitudes toward disadvantaged, minority group youth, seeing them as potentially trainable and productive employees rather than as irretrievably deviant and unproductive. At still another level, change might take place in legislation which would, for example, authorize special types of financial assistance for youth who otherwise could not afford it and thus motivate them to undertake training.

Once dissemination of knowledge and information to potential users has taken place, the utilization component of impact becomes paramount. Utilization can occur through a variety of forms:

Spread

The adaptive tryout of a project technique by other workers with other groups in other areas.

Continuity

The continuation of the original project on a more permanent basis, perhaps on an expanded scale, in order to use newly developed knowledge as a base for further knowledge-development actions.

Spinoff

The carrying out of an innovative activity by an ongoing agency other than the original funder once it has been demonstrated to be successful.

Spillover

This may be of two types: (1) To attract attention to a problem, with the E&D project serving mainly as a catalyst to get persons confronted with that problem to experiment with constructive action; (2) to encourage secondary application of the experimental or demonstration findings: for example, to apply the technique of teaching English as a foreign language to the teaching of disadvantaged youth whose native language is English.

"Production engineering" of E&D-developed techniques and knowledge, to translate them from the nurtured environment of a small-scale project conducted with special personnel to the conditions of everyday operation on a larger scale by less specialized personnel, may be called for by any of the preceding categories of utilization. Sometimes another function of an E&D project is to serve as a hypothesis generator as well as a "living example" of the application of project findings.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

To evaluate in depth the degree and efficacy of impact of a given E&D project would require an intensive survey among potential user agencies likely to be influenced by the demonstration. The budget and time limitations for this followup study made intensive, in-depth investigation impracticable. Instead, the decision was made to review all available reports on the E&D youth projects conducted during the period 1963-1966, with 14 visited personally. Visits focused on eliciting impressions of and evidence for impact on relevant community agencies and institutions, mainly as perceived by the projects' directors and key staff members. Where projects were not visited, their reports were analyzed for evidence regarding impact. Admittedly this is a biased and incomplete way of trying to arrive at an assessment, but it is by no means an irrelevant or valueless way.

These E&D project directors and their key staff were, or are, in the front lines of the poverty war, and their perceptions of what happened are knowledgeable and pertinent. In some cases, it was possible within the time-budget limits of this survey to obtain inputs from a few other local community agencies that dealt with given E&D projects. It might indeed be valuable to conduct a deeper study in a few cities to trace the impact and perceptions in depth regarding certain projects. This could be done by interviewing a representative sample of the project's ex-clients, as well as all the relevant community agencies.

Incidentally, the impacts reported in this study are only those which have been recognized and mentioned, and in some instances documented. There are and were other impacts or influences made by these projects which no one ever documented or mentioned, and in some cases will not be immediately visible. For example, spurred by these E&D projects, among other influential forces, the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and many local chambers of commerce have called upon the heads of business organizations to hire and train previously untrained and unskilled persons.

Prior to each site visit, reports and other materials relevant to the given project were carefully reviewed, and areas of actual and potential impact noted. In each instance the project director was interviewed for two or more hours. In most cases other project staff members either participated in the interview with the director or were seen at a later time. In a few instances it was possible to hold a personal or telephone interview, usually brief, with representatives of potential user agencies and institutions.

Interviews with project staff were semi-structured. The nature of the present study was described and the project staff member encouraged spontaneously to relate examples of success or failure of impact, and reasons for them, together with his perceptions of the methods used in each area. Then, he was asked to discuss project impact, actual and potential, in terms of specific national, State and local levels. On the national level, particular attention was given to impact on Federal legislation; policies and operations of the Departments of Labor, Defense, HEW (especially, OE), the Civil Service Commission (CSC), and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Impact on nationwide employers and unions was also explored. At the State level, impact on legislation, and the State departments of employment, education, corrections, and rehabilitation were discussed. At the local level, explorations were made of the impact on private youth-serving agencies, local ES offices and YOC's, public schools, local labor unions, employers, welfare agencies, correction institutions, and the courts. The local community action "poverty programs," particularly those focusing on youth and manpower, were discussed as a major area of potential impact.

Following the site visits, interview material was carefully reviewed and collated with the project reports, and other available documents. The authors' aim was to seek evidence regarding impact on agencies and institutions that might be expected to benefit from what was done and learned by the E&D projects. (See the following section for findings from interviews conducted.)

FINDINGS OF SURVEY

These findings are an evaluation of the impact that E&D youth projects appear to have made on community agencies, public and private, at the local and national levels.

NATIONAL LEVEL

PUBLIC SECTOR

Department of Labor

Experiences of E&D youth projects have had major impact on the conception and planning of, and the guidelines and procedures for YOC's. While these youth centers are operated by ES offices, BES has established the guidelines for their organization and operation. The overall concept of providing intensive manpower services to disadvantaged youth near their places of residence was implemented on a major scale for the first time in the E&D projects. It was successfully demonstrated that this approach could be effective in reaching, recruiting, training and placing disadvantaged youth.

The value and necessity of intensified on-going counseling services to the disadvantaged was amply demonstrated. Similarly, group counseling, with its advantages of peer interaction and more effective use of professional counseling manpower, was given wide try-out in the E&D projects and has since become a reasonably well-established technique within the YOC's.

In job development, E&D experience pointed up the necessity for a more client-centered approach. Traditional reliance on meeting the primary needs of employers resulted in a paucity of jobs for disadvantaged youth. A more comprehensive approach is based on a realistic assessment of the needs and qualifications of these young people followed by an attempt to find or develop jobs appropriate to the youth rather than the prior focus on finding youth appropriate to the jobs available. This E&D concept is now seen in the recent HRD program, which extends the same client-oriented approach to adults and is required to be set up by every State ES.

HRD will provide: (1) Neighborhood outreach through mobile teams of ES personnel; (2) employability services which shall include interviewing, counseling, testing, referral, placement and followup. Employability for the individual will be enhanced by the provision of services developed and offered cooperatively with community and organizational resources for education, health, rehabilitation, housing, legal aid, child care services. Any individual who is reached and served in this program may be referred to employment at any point in the process when he is ready for it, in line with his training and abilities. HRD programs have been initiated on an experimental and demonstration basis in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Rochester. ES agencies are being encouraged to carry out this program through existing local employment service offices, including use of space in YOC's.

E&D experience further showed that a large number of out-of-school, out-of-work youth were unqualified for almost any job—pointing up the need for training programs which would meet their actual level of qualification and work readiness, and develop their attitudes and skills to meet the requirements for entry-level jobs. The prior approach to training had been and, in too many cases, remains, the exclusion of all youth who could not meet training requirements and norms established on the basis of qualifications of other, nondisadvantaged populations. Discovery that the majority of disadvantaged youth were not ready for job-training programs led to the realization that both supervised and sheltered work experience, and basic communication skills and employability training, both alone and in combination with skill training, were urgently needed before youth could participate productively in more formal occupational training or could perform adequately in entry-level occupations once jobs were secured.

It was apparent that communication skills and other pre-vocational training should not be invariably linked to institutional or OJT. Some youth require all services; others require only certain types or levels of training. Amendments to MDTA incorporated this E&D-derived knowledge. E&D experience further taught that comprehensive health services, including medical, dental, optometric, and psychiatric, needed to be readily available to disadvantaged youth if their trainability and employability were not to be severly handicapped. These E&D experiences can be directly linked to legislative amendments to the MDTA which established programs for communication skills and health services.

E&D project results proved that staffing patterns could profitably include nonprofessionals from the affected community who could assist in reaching and involving disadvantaged youth and the community at large in manpower programs. The BES project CAUSE adopted the E&D pattern of using counselor aides to bridge the gap between counselor and client when the former was in short supply.

The aforementioned services must be coordinated carefully and made readily available if dropouts and lack of followthrough on referrals are to be avoided. Ideally, these comprehensive services should be housed together or as close as possible. This concept of coordination and ready availability of services falls far short of both the universal and the ideal in application and execution. A strong beginning has been made, witness the YOC's and Neighborhood Employment Centers of the CAP of OEO.

OJT programs constituted a major point of contact between E&D projects and BAT. Initially, coordination and cooperation in the development and funding of OJT contracts suffered from a lack of clear policy guidelines and contract instructions. Considerable damage was done to relationships between projects and potential trainer-employers, since the latter felt that the paperwork required in both contract approval and payment often were delayed seriously. Further complicating the problem, many local BAT staff members were less than enthusiastic about on-the-job training, or adopted a "business as usual" attitude more characteristic of slow-moving bureaucracies than of action programs. This resulted in friction and weakening of already tenuous communication.

Closer communication between funding agencies at the Washington level, and better communication between these agencies and the projects' field representatives, respectively, could have materially eased and speeded the implementation and impact of the OJT program. Subsequently, progress was made in communication and coordination, resulting in increased OJT effectiveness.

Project staffs were generally satisfied with BAT Washington personnel but found some local BAT representatives uninformed and unenthusiastic about E&D project efforts to involve disadvantaged youth in apprenticeship programs. In many instances BAT staff reportedly found various reasons why involvement wasn't possible rather than making serious attempts to ease long-standing barriers. These examples serve to highlight the cost of inadequate intradepartmental coordination and commitment to departmental goals and policies.

The projects reported that the relationship with their funding agency has been excellent despite certain unfavorable circumstances. Particularly praised were the project officers who unstintingly facilitated the operation of the E&D projects. From the projects' viewpoint, funding agency program officers were burdened with monitoring and supervising too many projects and, coupled with additional duties, this affected overall efficiency. Manifest at the project level was difficulty in getting prompt attention to requests for contract modifications to meet changing or newly perceived project needs. Perhaps more serious was the delay and uncertainty in renegotiation of contracts.

This materially affected the perceived job security of project staff members, which was not too good at best, and had a consequent effect on morale. Many projects were forced to operate on a week-to-week or month-to-month basis pending refunding. This uncertainty affected the nature and extent of project commitments to both trainees and cooperating agencies, such as schools, employers, and training programs. Shortages of E&D program officers and uncertainties over sustained funding support still persist as bothersome problems.

MA helped achieve an early legislative change in the MDTA which broadened availability of training allowances to cover participation in more training activities and related services. The period during which training allowances can be paid has been extended from 1 to 2 years, and the amount increased for certain categories of individuals. Transportation expenses are now provided to cover the cost of commuting to and from training sites. Group and individual trainee referrals to private educational and training facilities have been provided for, and facility use encouraged through modifying restrictions. One MDTA amendment provided for the funding of vitally needed pre-training medical examinations and limited health services.

Prevocational communications and job-skills training not necessarily linked together are now available under the Act. Institutional training paid for by regular training funds can now be provided for prison inmates under MDTA. Bonding services for training program graduates are now available through an experimental project in 15 cities across the Nation. These amendments corresponded directly to needs uncovered by E&D projects.

E&D youth projects have amply demonstrated the need for and feasibility of providing supervised, somewhat sheltered work experience for disadvantaged youth and the NYC is providing the paid work experience on a nationwide scale. E&D projects, notably MFY in New York City, were among the first to develop and test the work-crew concept so basic to the operations of the NYC. Further E&D refinements combined actual work experience with counseling and basic education training as part of the overall work program, and these are now being incorporated in regular NYC operations. Other refinements suggested by Detroit's E&D project experiences include the development of rotation of trainees through various work sites providing increasingly rigorous demands for performance.

This "graded work experience" provides variety of work experience and levels of ability and sophistication demanded to suit the needs of individual trainees at various stages of their development and learning. The E&D projects discovered that to be successful, work experience must be meaningful and productive. "Make work" types of activities tended to reduce rather than to increase trainee morale and motivation. The need for careful selection of youth supervisors was also demonstrated. Supervisors need to be sensitively aware of the attitudes, needs, and values of the trainees, if the objectives of work experience are to be met. A lack of awareness in this area leads to misunderstanding and conflict with the youth the ultimate loser. In some areas NYC profited from these E&D findings; in others, these lessons were learned through painful experience.

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

E&D project impact on HEW has been difficult to measure. Project reports and interviews with MA and project staff members indicate relatively little direct contact between the projects and HEW.

The lack of impact of E&D experience on OE was due partly to the absence of direct communication and the inadequacy of such communication as existed.

Perhaps it also was partly a function of failure to involve OE and local level educational institutions in the co-architectural support or sponsorship of those projects calling for a large education component. The establishment of the Interagency Project Review Committee (IPRC) has greatly improved this situation. Since established educational institutions at the local level are nearly immune to major impact from E&D, or indeed many other types of local projects, the need for ready and direct communication between the projects and responsible agencies at the Federal level is essential before it is likely to sift down to the local level. When the communication and the will to collaborate are weak, not only does impact fail in terms of instituting progressive and meaningful changes in the policies and operations of established institutions, but even the operations of the E&D projects may be retarded and eventual success limited.

E&D projects clearly demonstrated the need for closely coordinated, readily available public and mental health services for disadvantaged youth. The increasing availability of neighborhood-based community public and mental health services are certainly a beginning toward meeting these needs, and Federal aid to the States for these services derive in part from impact at the national level.

Office of Economic Opportunity

In a very real sense, the E&D youth projects served as viable precursors to programs now being carried out on a broad scale under the EOA. At both national and local levels, the innovations, experiences, and findings of the E&D projects were reflected in the design and operation of vastly expanded and increasingly comprehensive new programs. Staff members from the E&D projects formed trained and experienced cadres utilized at the policy-making, planning, and operational levels of the large scale antipoverty programs which began in 1964.

The one-stop, neighborhood-based, multiservice center, a concept now commonplace in the war on poverty, found its first clear successful demonstration in the experiences of the E&D projects.

The successful utilization of nonprofessional volunteers in varied aspects of the E&D projects was embodied in many of the roles undertaken by volunteers in VISTA, the domestic version of the Peace Corps.

The Job Corps fulfills a need discovered and demonstrated in the E&D projects for the residential counseling, education, training and socialization of many youth where neighborhood influences and impoverished home environment made the accomplishment of these goals in the community difficult, if not impossible.

However, the findings of the E&D project operated by the New York City Youth Board showed that disadvantaged youth could be retained successfully and trained in a camp setting where total enrollment was small enough to keep many aspects of a homelike setting. In such a situation individual attention was facilitated, and some of the difficulties encountered in a large, more impersonal institutional atmosphere were reduced.

It may well be that the substantial dropout rate and discipline problems experienced by the large Job Corps centers could be considerably reduced were the individual centers smaller and had they included more individualized units. These questions should be carefully examined by the Job Corps. Another area of E&D project experience of great potential benefit to the Job Corps is the need for carefully coordinated job development and placement as well as followup contact and counseling for individuals who have completed training. In spite of the demonstrated need, these placement and followup services are, as yet, not widely or easily available to Job Corps graduates, thus leaving a gap between training and employment.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

An E&D project in Cincinnati has demonstrated that disadvantaged youth could gain valuable work experience and, in some cases, preapprenticeship training, in the building trades while helping to rehabilitate deteriorated homes under union journeyman supervision. The Labor Department and HUD have been collaborating in this area, and Cincinnati will be used as a model for expanding this procedure for trial in other communities. Neighborhood multi-service centers are being established by HUD in conjunction with the Model Cities program, and the need for such centers was demonstrated many times by various E&D projects.

PRIVATE SECTOR

Employers' Associations

Concrete evidence of E&D project impact on national associations of employers is illustrated by the earlier reference to an E&D project which developed programed instruction training curriculums later included in a training program prepared by the National Automobile Dealers Association.

There is evidence that an appreciable number of local employers and employer groups belonging to a variety of national associations have been increasingly sensitized to the existence and needs of disadvantaged youth by way of E&D projects. Further, they have become more and more aware that disadvantaged youth, given proper preparation and training, can make a positive contribution to business and industry. As a result disadvantaged, minority group youth now have jobs in fields of employment and occupations previously largely closed to them. These include the areas of banking, general clerical work, and retail sales.

In several major cities, including St. Louis and Chicago, local chapters of national employer organizations have, in response to E&D projects efforts, committed themselves to opening literally thousands of jobs to disadvantaged minority group members. The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) has undertaken to demonstrate what the private sector can do to train the culturally disadvantaged through its Solutions to Employment Problems (STEP) program established in New York and promoted in other cities. NAM also initiated the Methods of Intellectual Development program (MIND) which now is conducted by Corn Products Company. These programs provide for manpower development, including basic education, skill training, motivation, and adoption of computer technology to match individuals of marginal skills to jobs or upgrading programs.

National, International Unions

Positive impact on the labor movement, where it has occurred, has been evident primarily at the local level. However, enlightened union leadership at the national level has been made increasingly aware of the existence and needs of disadvantaged youth, and a beginning has been made in devising ways in which organized labor can participate meaningfully in meeting these needs. The NILE E&D project convincingly demonstrated feasibility of union sponsorship of training programs and provided realistic and practical guidelines for such sponsorship on a nationwide basis. The NILE project also clearly demonstrated that union cooperation and participation in manpower programs can be best obtained when the soliciting agencies' staff, in this case the NILE E&D project personnel, has had widespread experience in the labor movement. It is also highly important that labor representatives share in the planning and sponsorship of the operations of such an agency.

National Organizations Serving Youth

Two national youth-serving organizations, the NCCY and the National Committee on the Employment of Youth, have sponsored E&D projects. Their success demonstrates that private youth-serving agencies are able, given adequate resources, to mount significant efforts for greater employment of youth. Local branches or chapters of national organizations, such as the YMCA, have also been able to mount successful projects.

Private agencies across the Nation have vastly broadened the scope of and their traditional role in youth-serving activities for the disadvantaged through Federal funding, which was expanded greatly under the EOA.

On the whole, specific E&D project impact on private national organizations has been limited to their local components. However, an increased awareness of the characteristics and unmet needs of disadvantaged youth on the part of the national leadership of these organizations has been an example of generalized impact, and perhaps best illustrated by NAM's role in this field.

LOCAL, STATE LEVELS

PUBLIC SECTOR

Local ES Offices and YOC's

Many projects, under the terms of their contracts with MA were dependent upon ES for such key functions as trainee recruitment, screening, testing, counseling and in many cases placement in jobs or skill training. ES also took the initial actions to establish occupational training for clients in E&D projects. These vital services were frequently difficult to arrange, hard to coordinate with other E&D project functions and often inadequate in timing, quality and sensitivity to the needs of disadvantaged youth.

In many cases, ES officials saw the E&D projects as interlopers trying to do a job which was in the rightful province of their office, had ES been given adequate funds and personnel. And ES officials frequently were described by project personnel as acting as if the very existence of the E&D youth projects were an implicit, or even explicit, criticism of their ability to meet employability needs of youth, and accordingly often reacted with defensiveness and even hostility.

Many project directors felt that the frequently observed tardy or half-hearted ES performance of screening, placement, and other functions, justified by ES on the basis of inadequate funding and personnel, was in actuality a reflection of these defensive and hostile attitudes. Although ES did cooperate because it had to, the quality and quantity of service varied from place to place.

Where close cooperation did exist between E&D projects and the local ES, this was generally felt by project staff to be a function of mutual respect and close interpersonal relationships between their members and unusually innovative and progressive individual ES officials. Except in the relatively few instances where this type of cooperation existed, most project directors felt that the ES did not cooperate to achieve the most effective service to youth.

On the brighter side, many local ES counselors, as in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Chicago and North Richmond, gained valuable insights and experiences necessary to work effectively with disadvantaged youth. This came about when they were given reduced case loads in order to serve youth more effectively either on detached assignment within the project or in local offices performing services for the project such as selection, testing and placement.

Upon termination of these special assignments, the counselors involved either returned to their regular roles in ES, or left to work in other poverty programs, or assumed important roles in the YOC's.

It is important to note that the project reports and staff interview materials revealed no instances of direct local adoption by ES of new knowledge, innovative methods and procedures, or other presumably useful findings stemming from the E&D projects. Only one project director among those interviewed spontaneously mentioned the issue of ES utilization of E&D findings. In almost all instances, the directors tended to think in terms of securing and maintaining the necessary cooperation to carry out the project, rather than in terms of ES adapting or adopting any of the project's findings.

The directors generally felt that the dissemination aspect of impact had been reasonably well served whenever local offices and officials with which the project had direct contact were well informed of project goals and results. However, any widespread utilization of E&D experiences and findings came, when it did come, by a more circuitous route—the planning, funding, and creation of the ES, YOC's, instigated at the Federal level under BES.

E&D youth projects served well in the "gadfly" role of reminding ES of the existence of large numbers of out-of-school, out-of-work youth whose needs were either unmet or inadequately met. The projects also forcefully brought to the attention of these agencies the fact that the so-called disadvantaged youth could be reached, recruited, counseled, trained, and employed with considerable success when the proper resources, attitudes, and methods were marshaled and applied.

One E&D project, Hunter's Point in San Francisco, was transformed into a permanent YOC of USES. Unfortunately, staff and management turnover, both in the E&D project itself, and later in the YOC, diluted the amount of carryover of innovations and experiences. However, the project, which included ES personnel during its E&D phase, was able to provide a reasonable degree of basic experience and continuity of services. Thus, it spared this center some of the more acute growing pains and trial and error activities experienced by others.

Too much of the knowledge accumulated by the E&D projects was either not available or not used by many of the YOC's. A former director of an early E&D project visited a number of YOC's in the same State where the project existed. He was chagrined and dismayed to repeatedly find the same naivete, uncertainty about methods and approaches, inadequate planning, and, frequently inadequate funding for necessary services which had characterized the early stages of the E&D project more than 3 years before. This fact is even more disturbing when one considers that the overall funding agency, the Department of Labor, was the same for both the E&D project and the YOC. In addition, the same ES was closely involved in both the E&D and YOC operations. This demonstrated clearly the failure to utilize hard-gained knowledge and experience within the same Federal and State agencies. Based on the reports and interview data collected for this study, it is clear that this costly breakdown in communication, coordination, and effective utilization is a nationwide phenomenon.

Schools, State and Local Vocational Education Agencies

The perceptions and reports of the E&D project directors largely tell a similar story with reference to the project's impact on public schools and vocational education and training. Under MDTA, the planning, staffing, and operation of institutional courses of instruction were the legal responsibility of one or another combination of State and local boards of education and their respective vocational education components.

Those institutions which had direct training responsibilities to or other direct relationships with the E&D projects became familiar with their nature, mission, and orientation during the course of the project's life. Despite that, there was often only the most limited cooperation between projects and school systems. Although there were widespread affirmations of support for the innovative, youth-oriented goals of the E&D projects from spokesmen for State and local boards of education, implementation of this support on the operating level, in most instances, was at best grudging, and at worst nearly nonexistent. Noteworthy exceptions to this generalization did exist, for example, in the JOBS project. In instances of active, creative cooperation on the part of school administrators, the important ingredient appears to have been a pre-existing personal commitment and openness to innovation and lack of defensiveness on the part of individuals.

In many instances State and local school systems and officials instead of reacting positively to innovative ideas had a negative impact on the E&D projects. This impact was perhaps most serious where MDTA institutional training was a part of the project. Institutional training programs adhered rigidly to bureaucratic standards for admission, curriculums and regulations for student deportment and attendance characteristic of regular school system training.

This occurred even though it was evident to most E&D project personnel that the standard vocational training was clearly inappropriate for the vast majority of disadvantaged youth whom the projects were philosophically and contractually committed to serve. Even when these guidelines were broadened at the request of many E&D projects to meet the needs of special youth projects, only belated and grudging modification of curriculums, regulations, and attitudes was forthcoming from many local educators. What could have been an almost ideal laboratory for vocational educators to discover the needs of disadvantaged youth and develop new attitudes, flexibility, and innovations in methods, techniques, and curriculums, became, too often, an overt or covert battleground between projects and schools—where the trainee too often was the defeated or injured bystander.

The MDTA amendments authorizing remedial or basic skills training as part of institutional training afforded another opportunity for a major impact on the preparation of the disadvantaged. However, all too often this opportunity was largely dissipated. The E&D projects soon discovered that the curriculums, tools, methods, and attitudes necessary to teach basic skills to disadvantaged youth were either lacking or only marginally helpful.

Furthermore, in spite of a long history of attempts to educate the disadvantaged, little research had been done and little effective knowledge had been developed or made available for use in the E&D project-related institutional training.

The E&D projects clearly pointed up the lack of special-purpose educative and training methods for use with the disadvantaged. These revelations, however, were frequently met with solid defensiveness on the part of educators, together with denial of responsibility for solutions to the problems. The disadvantaged or the projects were blamed for the lack of success of traditional methods. On the other hand, it must be said that the knowledge gained through bitter experience by the E&D projects concerning the lack of appropriate tools to teach and train the disadvantaged did have the effect, when reported and publicized, of at least temporarily disturbing the widespread complacency present in educational circles. In Detroit, for example, well-based criticism subsequently led to improved and relatively effective training programs.

On the positive side, there were widespread instances of active cooperation on the part of public schools and educators in New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Detroit. These consisted of the provision of teachers and classroom space, and materials for basic skills training of the disadvantaged at no cost to the project. They also included instances of regularized referral of dropouts or potential dropouts to E&D projects for the purposes of encouraging them to remain in school. When this proved impossible, they were assisted in receiving training, counseling, and employment.

Many individual schools gave special consideration to E&D project trainees who had been motivated to return to continue their formal education. In addition, many teachers and counselors assigned to or working with E&D projects showed a high level of dedication and competence, and presumably used their increased experience and understanding to good effect when they returned to more traditional roles and settings in the schools.

Some of the E&D youth projects had as their sole or major sponsor the local board of education. For others, contacts with local schools were provided through common involvement in MDTA institutional training. Still others had no formal school contact and conducted their own training or provided for it through other channels. Our data show that projects with full or partial school board sponsorship had no more lasting impact on educational policy, curriculums, methods, or attitudes than did those not so sponsored. The one result of full or partial school board sponsorship appears to be continued exposure to the issues and problems of training. However, it is not clear what, if any, long-term impact this exposure has had. One project, almost entirely staffed by school personnel, reported that the project staff were received and treated by the rest of the school staff as outcasts or rebels who annoyingly rocked the traditional educational boat. Many of the nonschool sponsored projects reported having been perceived and treated similarly by the regular educational establishment.

On an overall basis, the direct utilization of E&D youth project findings by local and State educational institutions appears to have been minimal, but the indirect stimulation may be considerable.

Law Enforcement Agencies, Courts, Correction Offices

The major impact of the E&D youth projects in this area has been the encouragement and facilitation of the enlightened philosophy of retaining juvenile offenders in their home community and providing various training and rehabilitation services rather than incarcerating them. Police departments, courts, and probation and parole departments have provided a substantial number of trainee referrals for E&D project services, which previously often were nonexistent. Our evidence indicates that the E&D referral frequently has been used in lieu of the sentencing or commitment of the youth to a detention facility. Indications are that this referral choice, often tested in the E&D projects, is being extended to other more permanent community-based youth and manpower programs which have recently followed the E&D projects into operation as a consequence of EOA and other legislation.

The outcomes of this type of referral choice, in terms of employability upgrading, law-abiding behavior while receiving E&D project training, and eventual rate of recidivism compared with employability upgrading and recidivism outcomes under the standard procedure of commitment to a detention facility, need to be studied carefully for equated groups of offenders.

Los Angeles County was able to close two probation forestry camps because of the marked decrease in youth commitments from the two major areas served by E&D projects. While firm evidence indicating that juvenile crime decreased in areas served by the E&D projects or their successors is lacking, considerable anecdotal material in the reports and interviews suggests that this is probable. If a detailed study of this matter would bear out present indications, then, indeed, large-scale training and employment opportunities offered through permanent institutions providing services similar to those developed and tested by the E&D projects could have far-reaching societal benefits by providing a viable alternative to crime for disadvantaged youth.

The Draper E&D project has had a high degree of success in training inmates in a correctional setting and placing them in employment in the community. The project has been flooded with requests for reports, information, and visits from literally all over the world. MA is sponsoring conferences and written material to help promote utilization of the outcomes of this project.

On an overall basis, rapport and sharing of information between E&D projects and those agencies responsible for the rehabilitation of youthful offenders has been very good.

Antipoverty Agencies

The impact of the E&D youth programs on the local antipoverty programs has been considerable. Perhaps the major source of impact has been the large pool of trained and experienced professional manpower represented by the staffs of the E&D projects. All over the United States on local, State, and Federal levels, E&D staff members have taken positions of high responsibility at both policy-making and operational levels in the vastly expanded programs for the disadvantaged carried out on a regular rather than a demonstration basis.

Their contribution has been enormous, particularly in the youth and manpower program areas, although it has been by no means limited to this area. E&D project personnel have been employed in key positions, for example, in NYC, the Job Corps, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), and the Community Action Programs (CAP). These E&D staff members, trained on the job, are providing a more than welcome offset to the serious shortage of experienced professionals in the various programs serving the disadvantaged. They have brought with them the techniques, methods, concepts, and innovations developed over a period of several years on smaller, comparatively laboratory-like E&D projects. However, there is no systematic setup or arrangement to pool or cross-validate the more promising findings of these E&D projects.

Probably the second most important area of E&D impact has been the continuation of ongoing E&D projects, often in expanded form with increased resources on a regular rather than demonstration basis and utilizing OEO and BES funds. These projects are able to use directly their hard-won knowledge and experience in rapidly providing the high level of manpower services to youth without the agonizing "tooling up" and trial-and-error periods common to other new programs.

A related source of impact has been the widespread employment of E&D staff members in writing proposals for antipoverty programs embodying a wider variety and closer integration of services to the disadvantaged. The need for these services was almost universally recognized through E&D experience but fell short of implementation because of lack of statutory authority. For example, E&D project experiences pointed up the need for comprehensive, readily available services beyond training and counseling to prepare the disadvantaged for employment. Medical, dental, and optometric screening and treatment, remedial and basic skills education, supervised work experience, and other services were not available under existing legislation. However, the need was recognized and provision for these services was written into the EOA of 1964, MDTA amendments and other legislation as a result of the E&D experience.

In many instances NYC benefited from prior E&D efforts and innovations in the area of work experience for disadvantaged youth. The efficacy of using work crews at work training situations, an integral part of today's regular NYC program, was first demonstrated in E&D projects in New York City (MFY) and New Haven (CPI).

Perhaps the greatest impact on antipoverty programs is reflected in the fact that in a number of the Nation's largest cities the E&D youth project became the overall antipoverty agency for those cities (Los Angeles, Boston, and New Haven). In St. Louis, JEVS was given responsibility for the planning and administration of that city's greatly enlarged antipoverty manpower programs. The selection of these agencies for such an expanded and significant role rested in large part on their successful experience as sponsors and administrators of E&D projects.

A major byproduct of the massive involvement on the part of E&D staffs and sponsoring agencies in the antipoverty programs has been the large-scale infusion into the programs of the dedication, courage, flexibility, and boldly imaginative and innovative spirit that often characterized these agencies and individuals. By contrast, many antipoverty staff members coming from comfortable and complacent establishments reflect, in many cases, a rigid preoccupation with the most limited and restrictive interpretations of policies and possibilities, the lack of creative ideas and imagination, a stubborn reliance on inappropriate and ineffective, if traditional, methods, and disturbing lack of awareness of or commitment to the whole spirit and thrust of the antipoverty program.

Health and Welfare Agencies

A sizable percentage of E&D project referrals came from welfare workers who referred members of welfare-dependent families for training and employment. While it was found that many public health and welfare agencies cooperated closely with the E&D youth projects in providing special services to project youth (Chicago JOBS and MYEP in Detroit), this usually did not result in policy and organizational changes geared to providing services to disadvantaged youth on an ongoing basis beyond the life of the project.

The cooperating public health agencies helped demonstrate clearly that large numbers of disadvantaged youth were seriously hampered in their training and employment efforts due to health problems. The services that were provided (medical, dental, optometric, psychiatric) emerged from the close working relationships between individuals in the respective agencies, and were not institutionalized. The public health agencies were in need of expanded funds, staffing and facilities in order to provide badly needed services to youth on a regular and sustained basis.

In the early months of the E&D project operations, training allowances paid to project enrollees were frequently deducted from family allowances provided to trainees' families by local welfare departments. This policy had the effect of redistributing rather than increasing the family's income. In effect, it guaranteed the trainee a percentage of the family's overall income. Many parents resented this reduction in their income and put pressure on trainees to withdraw from training. Gradually, after much discussion and negotiation, legislative and policy changes were generally made so that local welfare departments no longer deducted MDTA training allowance payments from moneys received by the families of trainees.

Public Employers

A substantial number of the E&D youth projects gained valuable experience in utilizing the inherent skills and abilities of the disadvantaged in their own behalf as project aides, assistants, tutors, and community workers. This demonstration of the successful use of indigenous workers contributed to their subsequent widespread utilization in the antipoverty programs.

Except for the subsidized employment of individuals in local public agencies under the various work experience and work study programs, the E&D projects appeared to have had little or no impact on the more traditional local civil service structure. It is sadly ironic that while local and State governmental bodies spend many millions of dollars in rehabilitation efforts directed toward various disadvantaged groups, they seem to be unable to offer permanent employment opportunities to those deemed rehabilitated.

State and local civil service commissions and personnel boards, in the main, have not seen fit to reexamine their entry level requirements in the light of actual job requirements. They generally have not created new job categories or subprofessional roles for the disadvantaged except when specified under various federally financed programs.

While the Federal CSC has dropped the requirement that applicants list juvenile offenses on employment applications, following E&D-inspired recommendations, very few State or local civil service commissions have taken this step. Two relevant pilot developments, however, have grown out of E&D experience. In San Francisco, Federal agencies hired 1,000 disadvantaged people exempted from some CSC requirements. A total of 600 of these are being trained with E&D funds to pass examinations to make their jobs permanent, and 400 became permanent employees without having to pass exams. The Federal agencies involved have advised the President's Committee on Manpower that these people, on the whole, are performing satisfactorily.

In New Jersey, State civil service requirements have been modified greatly so that tests relate directly to the job to be performed. For example, the Newark Housing Authority has been able to hire about 75 painter apprentices, all of them disadvantaged, who qualified by climbing a scaffold, reading the label on a paint can, and demonstrating ability to learn a simple operation. This is an outcome of the NILE E&D project.

At the local and State levels, impact of

E&D projects ranged from minimal to excellent. In the areas of employment services and educational agencies, attitudes of defensiveness and entrenched methods of carrying on operations served as barriers to impact. Public employers conspicuously failed to follow through in making permanent employment available to disadvantaged youth. On the other hand, the impact of the projects on law enforcement and correctional agencies was positive, and local antipoverty programs derived major reinforcement from project trained professional personnel and from project operating experience.

PRIVATE SECTOR

Employers and Local Chambers of Commerce

According to the evidence available, the impact of the E&D youth projects on employers has been extensive. First-hand, face-to-face contact between employers and project staff members (particularly those with job development responsibilities) has provided the opportunity to dissipate or weaken many negative stereotypes held by employers concerning disadvantaged youth. For many employers, the E&D projects provided their first experience with the employment of minority group members and others who because of limited education and nonconforming attitudes had been considered unemployable. For example, JOBS received declarations of interest to hire project graduates from numerous members of a large employers' association. Detroit's MYEP was able to place Negro youth in retail sales jobs in all-white suburbs for the first time.

Many employers have been persuaded through contact with project personnel and through subsequent experience to modify unrealistic job entrance requirements and reexamine their entry level jobs to determine the actual skill requirements. Most projects, for example, report that some employers dropped high school graduation as a prerequisite to employing project graduates, and that these changes came about as a consequence of face-to-face efforts by local E&D project personnel.

Some employers also have reconsidered previously rigid requirements that employees be free of any prior criminal record. Some employers agreed to discount any and all juvenile records when considering an applicant for employment. Others agreed to consider the nature of the offense in relation to the type of work anticipated, or to differentiate between minor and major offenses in considering persons for employment. These findings were reported by almost all projects, but the overall incidence of employers modifying their arrest record policies was low. Frequently, anticipated bonding problems were given as a reason for excluding those with records. Recent amendments to MDTA providing Federal protection against employer loss help to overcome this problem. MDTA funds are available to purchase bonding coverage for prospective employees who are considered too great a risk for regular bonding companies. This has helped many employers to relax their fears of hiring people with criminal records.

Many employers extended employment opportunities to disadvantaged youth based on confidence in the employability preparation services performed by the project. Some employers would continue to hire members of disadvantaged and minority groups only if they came recommended by an agency performing pre-employment services similar to those of the E&D projects. Other employers are reported to have opened their doors more widely to disadvantaged youth regardless of the source of their referral.

Meaningful, catalytic contacts between projects and employers have paid off in altered employer attitudes. For example, the Los Angeles E&D projects brought a number of employers into contact with minority group youth on project premises where the youth were at ease and articulate—a new experience for many employers. Still other employers became more amenable to hiring project graduates when they were aware of the supportive pre- and post-employment services provided by the projects. (Project reports from Chicago, New York City, and Los Angeles, among others.)

In Chicago, as in other areas, project staff acted as a communications bridge between employers and newly employed project youth until employer-employee relationships were firmly established. E&D projects have developed means of assisting employers in complying with both the spirit and letter of regulations established under recent equal employment opportunity legislation. NH in North Richmond, Calif., provides project graduates an introduction to employers required to comply with equal opportunity provisions and encourages employer compliance through providing qualified applicants.

The provision of on-the-job training (OJT) under MDTA has proved to be not totally satisfactory in implementation. For many months the policies and guidelines under which OJT contracts could be negotiated and carried out were unclear both to E&D project personnel and to BAT representatives whose approval was necessary prior to the signing of an OJT contract with a prospective employer. Even when these guidelines and policies were clarified somewhat, employer resistance continued in many instances because of generalized employer fears of Government supervision or control over any aspect of the operation of their business.

In addition, many employers were wary of the anticipated volume of paperwork required to obtain modest remuneration for training efforts. As guidelines for OJT contracts were clarified and contracts could be rapidly developed and implemented, the E&D project role as subcontractor or "middleman" between the Government and private business increasingly reduced fears of Government control since employers dealt with project staffs on a person-to-person basis rather than with, to them, an ominous, distant bureaucracy.

Large employers, as a rule, preferred to accept youth directly into their own ongoing training programs rather than contract for OJT. Some project staff members felt, however, that the very possibility of OJT contracts served as a lever to encourage the acceptance by employers of disadvantaged youth into their own training programs. With some exceptions, OJT contracts tended to be negotiated with small, nonunion employers to whom contract remuneration was more significant.

Many E&D project staff members observed that some employers benefiting from OJT contracts frequently did not provide any more on-the-job instruction and supervision for disadvantaged youth beyond that normally received by any new employee. Nonetheless, project personnel saw considerable value in OJT contracts as an incentive—at least to small employers—to employ the disadvantaged. It provided a low-risk method of screening potential employees in the actual job situation. Many employers did hire successful trainees.

E&D projects were much less successful in helping to develop new job classifications or categories which could be filled by disadvantaged youth than they were in finding and helping to fill existing jobs. This seems to be a result of both the pressure brought by job development staff to find openings quickly for project youth and the general lack of experience in developing entirely new jobs in the job market. The time required to find the preexisting job is considerably less than that involved in creating a new one.

Labor Unions

In general, the E&D project staffs expressed disappointment and disillusionment with their relative lack of success in securing union cooperation and participation in their efforts. The resistance to changes in long-standing attitudes, policies and procedures and the existence of a negative stereotype of disadvantaged youth were similar in kind and degree to those encountered in other public and private agencies and institutions. Lack of active cooperation and participation on the part of organized labor in fulfilling the training goals of the E&D projects can be attributed to a number of factors.

Many union leaders viewed the entire MDTA program as implicitly antilabor in that, they felt, it tended to train people in occupations where jobs did not exist and to result in the breaking up of apprenticeable occupations. It was feared that accepting less qualified entrants in apprenticeable trades would result in lowering of the standards of the trade and of the overall skill of its members. AFL-CIO gave strong support for passage of MDTA, however.

In spite of these problems, there were instances of positive E&D impact on union attitudes toward and acceptance of disadvantaged youth. Perhaps the major area of impact has been that of the NILE youth employment project. This project, despite many delays, disappointments and difficulties, was able to establish a number of model union-sponsored, MDTA-funded, pre-apprentice training programs. Typically, these programs combined institutional and on-the-job training. Many trainees who completed the experimental pre-apprenticeship programs were able to enter the regular apprenticeship program. Standards for admission into apprenticeship were not modified appreciably. The focus here was to utilize the pre-apprenticeship period to help the youth meet existing standards, thus upgrading his qualifications while maintaining the high standards of the apprenticeable trade. There is no doubt that NILE trainees would never have been able to enter the formal apprenticeship without the pre-apprenticeship experience, which is now being copied in a number of cities.

E&D projects in Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, New York City, and St. Louis, among other cities, were successful in opening union membership to minority group disadvantaged youth for the first time. In most instances, this was accomplished through the inclusion of union officials in one or more of the following aspects of the E&D projects: planning, policy-making, or operations. For example, in New York City a seamen's union for the first time accepted disadvantaged Negro youth. In Cincinnati, journeymen from some of the building trades supervised work crews composed of disadvantaged youth engaged in the rehabilitation of substandard dwellings. In Alabama, the Barbers, Hairdressers, Cosmetologists International Union of America accepted prison-trained ex-inmates on a regular basis for the first time. In Chicago, an E&D project worked with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters union to set up a youth training program including basic skills. On successful completion, the union placed the trainees.

Youth-Serving Private Agencies

Since traditional private agencies generally have their roles well established historically, and their budgets limit major program expansion, the impact of the E&D projects in terms of changes in the policies, procedures, and methods of these agencies is limited. However, cooperation and mutual referrals between E&D projects and the agencies were very good, once a working relationship was established.

Many youth-serving agencies provided a neighborhood-based source of appropriate referrals of disadvantaged youth to the E&D projects. Many private agencies conducted programs and provided services to E&D project youth which were unavailable under Department of Labor funding. These included recreational programs, additional specialized counseling and therapeutic services, and, in some instances, specialized training and sheltered workshop placements.

A sizable number of E&D project sponsors were pre-existing, youth-serving agencies. These included, for example, the YMCA in New York City and Chicago, JEVS in Philadephia and St. Louis, NH and NCCY. Department of Labor funding enabled these agencies to utilize their past experience in working with youth to good effect in the area of youth counseling, training and employment. This funding enabled the private agencies to develop and carry out broad youth manpower services which their own limited resources would have precluded. The E&D project experience of these agencies, in turn, enabled them to take an experienced and even more expanded role in the anti-poverty programs under EOA and other enabling legislation. JEVS in St. Louis now administers all manpower programs of the local CAP.

Private Educational Organizations

Another area of E&D impact has been in providing settings for private educational firms to develop programed instruction materials to meet the needs of disadvantaged youth. One firm developed materials for a combined program of basic skills and automobile mechanic training in cooperation with an E&D project sponsored by the YMCA in Brooklyn, N.Y. These materials were later picked up and used as the major training component of a plan by a national automobile dealers association to train disadvantaged youth on a large scale. A private educational research firm, now providing programed instructional materials for the Job Corps, gained considerable initial experience and opportunity to pretest such materials for disadvantaged youth in an E&D project. Thus, in at least two cases, educational systems firms gained pilot experience in the context of an E&D project for a later full-scale contribution.

The E&D projects have provided a major beginning in bringing disadvantaged and minority group youth into productive contact, often for the first time, with numerous private employers and labor unions. Many private youth-serving agencies have increased their capabilities to undertake an even greater youth-serving role under the EOA and other recent human development legislation. A number of private educational research firms have gained large-scale practical experience for the later broader application of programed instruction to the educational and training needs of the disadvantaged.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Although, as can be seen from the foregoing, the impact of the E&D youth projects has been considerable, it is the firm conviction of the authors of this report that impact has been far less than optimal. In this section, the reasons for this conviction will be presented and discussed.

Apart from an interested ongoing agency being informed about the purpose, operation and findings of an E&D project, there are two general avenues that positive impact may take. The first, and the most widespread in the E&D projects, is cooperation through working relationships and, in many cases, interdependence between the E&D project and the regular local agency. The second general area of impact is dissemination and utilization of project findings. Problems arising in each of these areas are considered next.

Efforts to secure cooperation from established agencies and institutions in areas served in the E&D projects have met with varying degrees of success. However, in a few instances where such efforts were not productive, and in many instances where cooperation came only as a result of lengthy, painful, and sometimes acrimonious negotiations, project operations were delayed and overall project effectiveness was in some cases seriously limited. Problems in cooperation stemmed from a variety of sources. For convenience, these sources can be subsumed and discussed under three categories: negative attitudes, insufficient resources, and inadequate preplanning.

At the extreme, established agency staff members have expressed marked defensiveness and hostility toward the E&D projects, seeing them as brash interlopers in established agencies' areas of competence and operation. Some feel that the very existence of an E&D project is implied criticism of their past and current efforts. These individuals see E&D projects as a hostile, potentially dangerous and critical rival. On the other hand, E&D project staffs frequently characterize established agency personnel as being hopelessly enmeshed in and dedicated to their own bureaucracy at the expense of serving the needs of their presumed client populations. They are seen as looking backward, stubbornly clinging to traditional but inappropriate, even damaging, methods and approaches. They seem, from the project staff's viewpoint, too often to delight in finding reasons why something cannot be done rather than endeavoring to find ways of doing something. They cling tenaciously to the letter rather than to the spirit of policies and regulations in order to avoid change. Established agency personnel are seen as having no commitment toward rapid, active solutions to pressing problems but rather a dilatory, business-as-usual, there's-no-hurry, philosophy.

The above is in contrast to the sense of urgency experienced by most E&D staff members. Their zeal and enthusiasm to accomplish a great deal within the brief project life span have led to feelings of frustration, irritability, and even scorn, directed toward others less strongly motivated.

The clash of these conflicting attitudes hardly facilitates quick and easy cooperation. Often, the frustration and impatience of the E&D staffs were exacerbated by contract provisions which called for innovative approaches and at the same time required that large numbers of youth be served in training and other programs. This proved, in the light of later experience, to have been naive. Under these pressures, it was often difficult for E&D staff to pursue the often lengthy and circuitous paths toward interagency cooperation. In many instances where cooperation from other agencies was both lacking and vital to the success of the project, E&D staff members could not continue to muster the calm, patience, and objectivity necessary to elicit maximum positive response.

Inadequate resources of the permanent agencies limited their ability to cooperate with the E&D projects on the scale necessary to meet the needs of the project youth. Typically, shortages in personnel, space, and equipment limited the cooperation many agencies could give, despite their eagerness to get involved. For example, the health services were typically overworked and overextended even prior to the increased service needs revealed by the projects. The very fact that the projects often resulted in increased strains on already overburdened community services served to point out once again to those on a policymaking and funding level the need for vastly expanding services in a variety of major areas.

The E&D projects usually had a bare minimum of time between hiring staff and beginning to recruit youth. This lack of lead time made it difficult to pretrain and orient project staff and to establish cooperative relationships with outside agencies on which the project depended for success. Working relationships at the operating and management levels were still in the process of development when youth were literally clamoring at the project's door for training programs which could only be the end result of cooperation already established over a considerable time.

Again and again, the planning to carry out complex tasks has been inadequate and unrealistic. The wasteful and defeating consequences are known, but the problem remains largely uncorrected. It would seem that funding agencies could find a means of insuring that public monies and promises do not continue to be dispensed in a manner designed to insure far less than optimum potential cost benefit.

UTILIZATION

There seem to be several major obstacles in the path of optimum utilization of E&D findings and results.

First among these has been the lack of any but the most general type of planning for utilization, either at the time the proposal was written or during the discussions prior to its selection for funding. There seems to have been an implicit assumption on the part of the grantor and grantee alike that significant findings from a project will be adapted or adopted by potential user agencies if the findings are disseminated. Experience in the field of research utilization indicates that this is not generally the case. Utilization is made, not born. To maximize fully E&D findings, there first must be an assignment of responsibility for effecting utilization. While this need has not been fully met, a most constructive attack on it was begun in July 1966, by the establishment of the Division of Program Utilization in MA's Office of Special Manpower Programs.

Adequate budget and staffing to carry out any utilization plans that might be formulated were similarly lacking. For these reasons, the considerable number of instances of utilization referred to above have come about in a somewhat haphazard fashion, and as the result of a fortuitous combination of project findings with outside agency needs. The intent here is not to deprecate these happy semi-accidents but to point out that utilization of project findings could doubtless have been more widespread had there been more careful planning and the employment of deliberate strategies at both the Federal funding agency and project levels. This now is being done through efforts of the Division of Program Utilization.

Another problem area is that of substantiation, validation, and cross-validation of project findings. One factor influencing user agencies in adopting findings from an E&D project is the credibility of findings. Few of the E&D projects had a research component, as such, during their lifetime. Where evaluations of projects were conducted, they generally began after the project was well underway. A frequent result was that the projects did not have adequate ongoing feedback as to the validity and reliability of their data. As a consequence, the confidence with which E&D findings could be stated by the project or accepted by potential users was unnecessarily diluted.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are offered in the hope that they will, if adopted, result in markedly increased E&D impact.

MA should, at the policy level, decide who at what level is responsible for planning and carrying out operations necessary to achieve project impact, including cooperation, dissemination, and utilization. Appropriate budget staffing and resources should be made available to insure that these responsibilities can be carried out effectively. MA may take the responsibility for project impact at the Federal intra- and inter-agency, national and State levels, while the E&D projects may be given impact responsibility in terms of cooperation, dissemination, and utilization at the local level. MA's Division of Program Utilization now can provide the needed leadership to deal with the problems related to clarifying and achieving impact objectives. It might be helpful to establish guidelines which clearly state the scope and limits of impact responsibilities at various levels, together with suggested procedures for carrying out these responsibilities.

PLANNING FOR IMPACT

There has already been some creative thinking about impact strategies. In a multiagency seminar sponsored by MA in late November 1966, on "Putting Research, Experimental and Demonstration Findings to Use," many excellent ideas were discussed and brought together in a subsequent report.

Some ideas already have been implemented. For example, a meeting was called by the Division of Adult Education Programs (OE) to pool information and plan activities to improve adult basic education. A very important deficiency in the project reports read in connection with this study was that the kinds of expected impact or action objectives were not defined and planned for from the inception of the project.

At least with reference to the completed E&D projects, it is clear that flaws and gaps in the lines of communication within the Department of Labor as well as between it and other Federal agencies with large commitments in the area of developing human resources, have been costly both in terms of project operations and project impact. Interagency rivalry, narrow agency self-interest, differential agency priorities, and in some cases the absence of regularized lines of communication, have contributed to this problem. Some constructive steps already have been taken, such as the establishment of an interagency review committee. Other steps have been suggested in the multi-agency seminar report. The communication need is a key, since it appears that one of the more important impact channels is from the local E&D project to MA and from it to appropriate Federal agencies and back down to the local level—ES, schools, and other agencies.

Two strategies that might help to reduce attitudinal resistances to new ideas and procedures derived from successful E&D projects, as well as help reduce communication gaps, are:

—To draw up a system analysis of all the factors that bear importantly upon successful development, carry-through and dissemination-utilization of findings from an E&D project.

—To invite key persons from all parts of the system to a conference in the role of consultants, to refine the analysis and advise on how to strengthen the weak parts. The hoped-for effect from this effort would not only be some good ideas, but some ego-involvement born of coauthorship in implementing those ideas.

Local E&D projects generally lack the permanence, authority and resources to effect lasting impact on the more powerful and entrenched agencies in the local area, at least under present circumstances. For these channels to work effectively, an improvement in program officer staffing is strongly indicated. MA program officers have been and continue to be seriously overburdened in the number of projects for which they have responsibility, as well as the sheer number and complexity of other duties they are required to perform.

This situation often has resulted, according to reports obtained during field visits, in delayed responsiveness to project needs, particularly in the area of budget modifications and refunding, and delays and blockages in the reception and transmission of important findings and insights emanating from the projects. Coordinated and careful planning has also been impeded in many instances. A realistic staffing plan is needed within MA which takes cognizance of the number and size of E&D projects in relation to the size of MA program staff.

MA project officers need to have time to read periodic reports quickly and give appropriate and timely feedback to E&D project directors. Sufficient personnel to permit regular visits to projects would improve E&D project communications and mutual understanding. Regular visits by key project staff to Washington, during which discussions with MA staff could be held, would also increase meaningful communication.

In spite of the pitfalls frequently associated with Federal-local relations, Federal agencies operating in the human resources development area can have a powerful positive impact on their local counterparts in terms of introduction of new ideas, encouragement, stimulation, and funding which are beyond the capabilities of local E&D projects. Continued close personal contact (and collaboration where appropriate) at the Washington level among key persons in the research grants divisions, as well as the applied research, and program utilization offices of these agencies can facilitate E&D project impact at all levels. The multiagency seminar was an historic occasion partly because it brought together so many of these people in one room at the same time.

On the local E&D project level, substantially increased lead time should be given the projects to effectively include representatives of potential user and cooperating agencies in the general and detailed planning of project methods and operations. Following this, it is important that representatives of these agencies be intimately included in project planning and operation at middle management and line supervision levels.

In many instances, commitments for close cooperation have been given by policymaking officials of these agencies only to have operational cooperation break down as a result of opposition from or misunderstanding on the part of middle management and line supervision personnel. Since these latter levels of management frequently lack the broad vision and enlightened commitment of those at the top level, intensive orientation and close monitoring and supervision through the agency's own administrative channels are usually necessary. With failure in this, actual operational cooperation is seriously impeded, and sometimes even lacking, in spite of commitments made at top levels.

Difficulties in securing and maintaining cooperation between E&D projects and other agencies vital to the achievement of project goals have been repeatedly referred to in this study. One suggestion offered as a possible remedy would be to obtain qualified professionals to conduct modified "sensitivity training" or training labs involving project and cooperating agency staffs at the line, supervisory, and management levels. These labs would involve intensive group interaction for 30 or more hours over 3 days and be aimed at developing meaningful interpersonal relationship, understanding, and partial resolution of differing program orientations and philosophies, and sharing of relevant experiences. The lab should be held before the project opens its doors and may be repeated at regular intervals or as needed to sustain close relationships and cooperation.

It is important that the emotional or affective side of cooperation be explored as well as the formal or procedural aspects. This type of lab experience has been effective in Los Angeles and Chicago E&D projects as well as with Operation Headstart and Vocational Rehabilitation staffs in California and is widely used in private industry. Usually, however, the labs have been held with selected staff members of a given agency or institution. This concept could be extended to include staff from cooperating or coparticipating agencies combined with project staff members.

FOLLOWUP TO IMPACT

Once a given E&D project is sufficiently far along to provide convincing evidence of significant findings, a new proposal specifically directed toward effecting utilization of those findings can be planned and funded. Such a proposal can be initiated by the project staff or encouraged by the MA and worked out with the project staff. One example of this approach exists to some degree in the BES-funded extension of the National Committee for Children and Youth E&D project (providing employability services for disadvantaged youth whose receptivity was heightened by their recent rejection as volunteers for military service because of academic deficiencies). In the BES-funded extension of this project, NCCY staff are being utilized as innovation-experienced trainers and catalysts to set up similar services in YOC's in a number of cities across the United States. Further efforts of this type should be undertaken.

The Division of Program Utilization already is in process of actively promoting the spread of findings from the E&D youth project at Draper. This project has several valuable features. It convincingly demonstrates that youthful inmates can be effectively trained for available skilled jobs and placed in the community with good chance of success. In the course of the project, various programed instructional materials were developed which show great promise in the training of the disadvantaged. This project has received full support from the Alabama Department of Corrections and most other agencies with which it deals. The staff is able, experienced, dedicated and enthusiastic. For these reasons, plus the evident need for practicable methods and techniques for increasing the employability of correctional inmates, this project is eminently suitable for extension as a utilization project.

Perhaps other projects such as these could be selected for utilization extension while their staffs were still present and involved under E&D auspices, and before they had scattered, as often happens, to new opportunities elsewhere. Plans can be drawn up and appropriate funding provided for selected project staff, perhaps in conjunction with outside management consultants, to operate as missionaries or "change agents" to carry out various utilization strategies in selected institutions which have already demonstrated interest through their inquiries and visits.

Selected key staff members from successful demonstration projects can be used as part of a utilization project to test the feasibility of various utilization strategies. These projects, either during their normal life span or during an extension, can be modified to serve as a teaching project through seminars, workshops, and internships for selected staff members from potential user agencies. Or the utilization and teaching features can be combined in a given successor E&D project.

There is another kind of followup that can enhance impact or utilization of findings, namely, an evaluation followup study itself. If such study reveals that the project has succeeded in achieving some important objectives more effectively than is usually achieved by conventional practices, such evidence, properly disseminated, can lend credence and provide additional impact force. But such studies in the past usually have been undertaken when the project was better than half completed, if not near the end. This procedure needs reexamination. If an evaluation team comes in when the project is near termination, it not only is too late for feedback of findings to be of practical value for project improvements, but the staff begins to drift away to other more lasting jobs. Missing reports and statistical data cannot always be created at that late point in time, and optimal payoff cannot be achieved from the evaluation.

It is recommended that a certain amount of inhouse evaluation and regular feedback be built into every E&D project proposal that is funded. Then, as soon as it appears from the progress reports that there are some things of a special value to be learned by a fullfledged, independent outside followup study, this outside study can be undertaken as early as practicable, and planned in collaboration with consultants from the project staff and the MA program staff.

Still a different kind of needed followup is qualified, unobtrusive personal followup contact with the client graduates of E&D retraining projects, to offer help in getting jobs and counseling toward keeping jobs and maintaining a satisfactory personal and community adjustment.

CONCLUSIONS

- In future efforts to do manpower work with the disadvantaged, try to borrow, as paid fulltime consulting staff, at least one knowledgeable and respected, influential person from each community organization and agency which these persons represent—labor unions, public assistance, police, vocational rehabilitation, public health, education, vocational education. In effect, try to obtain a knowledgeable multi-disciplinary staff, then utilize and integrate their special know-how and talents around the challenging problem of dealing with and rehabilitating the clients in relation to the project objectives. The closer the relationship and interchange between E&D projects and community agencies which serve these same persons, the better the chance of cooperation and coordination of efforts. Staff interchange may be one good way of promoting understanding and cooperation, at least in some situations.

- Try to arrange periodic regional conferences with the key staffs of various E&D projects and perhaps some related ones sponsored by other agencies . . . to share insights, frustrations, procedures and success stories. Promote learning and sharing from other toilers in the vineyard . . . and provide for recognition, appreciation and encouragement of each other and by "the powers that be."

- Do not allow a federally funded project to begin serving clients until there is evidence of adequate preplanning and deliberate attempt to learn from the experiences of similar projects.

- Use experienced E&D staff and other experts as consultants to regular agencies to help them implement E&D demonstrated innovations contained in guidelines for regular programs. Such help could have appreciably increased and speeded the actual and successful use of outreach, employment of nonprofessionals, group counseling, and the like by YOC's and other antipoverty programs. Often guidelines and funds are insufficient to insure adoption of innovations. Concrete, on-the-job help in the implementation of new techniques and procedures needs to be increased to insure maximum long-range E&D project impact.

- Conduct training courses (taught by experienced, innovative E&D staff) in the important area of job development, including the creative involvement of management and labor. More work is needed in developing new types of jobs as contrasted with finding openings in pre-existing job categories. The whole "New Careers for the Poor" concept needs further application in E&D projects, especially those involving collaboration with or preparation for employment in private industry.

- Replicate, where suitable, the successful one-stop, neighborhood based, multiservice center. (This, we learn, is now being done under the leadership of HUD).
- Expand the use of nonprofessional volunteers in appropriate segments of E&D projects, and perhaps employ selected clients of given E&D projects for work in the project itself, or in other community agencies which might utilize some of the project findings. These persons then could make use of their own successful experience gained when they were clients of the E&D project.
- Replicate, where suitable, the New York City successful experience in retraining disadvantaged youth in a camp setting where total enrollment is small enough to retain many aspects of a home-like rather than an institutional atmosphere. (New York City now is engaged in more extensive experimental work to follow up its initial camps project).
- Encourage E&D youth projects to replicate the successful experience of inviting employers to come to the project site to observe the retraining program in operation, and to interview in that relatively secure atmosphere the trainees who are deemed by the staff to be ready for employment.
- Inquire of local E&D project staff whether they feel they have sufficient flexibility in their contract provisions, within broad MA policy, to be able to adjust to local needs. If not, review the situation with them.
- Institute Career Service Awards, or a sabbatical time period (6 months to 1 year) no oftener than every 4 years nor less often than every 7 years for all key professional and administrative staff who are judged capable of thereby probably making a significant contribution to MA, the Government, and their own development.
- Provide in-service training for MA professional program staff and research people in report writing and editing.
- Refrain from funding any project, no matter how needed or valuable the service it proposes to perform, until the E&D and service design has been coupled with some appropriate means—control groups, or baseline data, or before-after measures, or video tape recordings, or whatever may be appropriate to the given situation and type of project—for measuring efficacy of the different parts of the service to be offered and of the total intervention effort.
- Support studies of the dynamics of unusually successful important projects as soon as it appears evident that a given E&D project which is attacking an important problem is, in fact, achieving a breakthrough or major advance of some kind. By dynamics we mean the living elements of what the people involved did to achieve the seemingly unusual results, not just the outcome statistics or summaries of procedures and forms. Video-tape recordings, participant-observer case study reports, recorded interviews with those involved (E&D project staff, clients, and other agencies) may be appropriate for this purpose.

We would now like to offer an overall impression gained from reading more than 50 E&D project reports, from personal site visits to 14 projects in nine cities, and from our other relevant experience in the rehabilitation and poverty fields.

E&D projects focused on the rehabilitation of culturally disadvantaged youth, school dropouts, hard-core unemployed adults and other categories of persons in our society who have evidenced difficulty in making a living and "staying out of special trouble" . . . have increased greatly in number and type since about 1963. From trial-and-error and experience in this relatively recent, vastly stepped-up effort to cope with such problems, much has been learned. But the learning has been spotty; by small groups of staff personnel in certain governmental agencies; by this project or that project; by this city or that city.

The hard-won insights, new procedures and skills have not been systematically recorded. They have not been comprehensively shared through easily available and easy-to-read written collations and distillations. The learnings have not been brought together into a training center (or regional training centers) to help the staff of new E&D projects and other similar socio-economic programs to profit from the valuable experiences of others fighting similar battles during approximately similar times, under approximately similar conditions but in different places. As the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has pointed out, "There is no adequate clearinghouse to collect and disseminate information on programs and approaches being used across the Nation to improve education for culturally and economically deprived children." [1]

We need a kind of multiagency-sponsored Federal-State-municipal "National Academy for Urban Problems" to learn from past and current situations. We need to sift, analyze, interchange, refine, cross-validate, codify, transmit, and utilize what can be learned from E&D and R&D investments. We need to learn more about the conditions under which a particular strategy will work and those which operate against it.

Likewise, we need to spell out the conditions under which interorganizational relationships can function successfully and those which indicate that making a wide range of services available in-house would be the wiser course. Through such a college, we should be able to upgrade our capabilities and get better payoff for precious dollars spent on these important battles to make our democracy work better.

MA has taken the lead in this direction through its current effort to retrieve the new knowledge and insights gained from E&D projects for disadvantaged youth which have been funded by the Department of Labor. In addition OEO, OE, SRS, NIMH, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, and private-sector groups such as the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, NAM, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a number of industrial corporations, various private foundations such as Ford, Russell Sage, Rosenberg, Stern Family Fund, Rockefeller, and Carnegie have also accumulated a wealth of relevant knowledge and experience.

If we could now establish the kind of urban problem-solving college mentioned above, where the rotating faculty would be drawn from appropriate Federal agency program personnel, social scientists who have been studying and evaluating E&D projects, prospective clients from model projects, key personnel from successful E&D and R&D projects, knowledgeable private sector and foundation people, and any needed consultants, great progress could be made quickly in profiting from what we have learned from these hard, costly but often brilliantly creative and heartwarming experiences. By some arrangement such as this, we can become positioned to put this knowledge to better use in the field as well as at the policy level, and provide an ongoing top quality training school for key personnel from newly funded E&D projects. Written distillations of experience, such as contained in this book, and selected E&D final reports, can serve as source reading material in a training course, but written material alone will not take the place of face-to-face conference discussions, simulation games, site visits, and all the other training devices inherent in the "War College" idea, especially for the key staff of new E&D projects.

On January 10, 1967, Mr. Martin Stone, the president of Monogram Industries, gave an address before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in which he said: "I cannot believe that private industry opposes the aims of the Poverty Program or, in effect, is not sympathetic with the desire to rid the United States of poverty. . . . My own company has set up a trainee program for people with no previous skills and has employed 39 trainees against a total work force of 500 people. After a 10-month training program, the trainees earn a minimum of $2.10 per hour and have acquired skills necessary to assure them . . . continuity of employment at Monogram . . . or in numerous other companies. . . .

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[1] Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. *The Disadvantaged Poor: Education and Employment.* Third Report, 1966.

"The Federal Government is engaged in an absolutely necessary, but badly conceived war on poverty . . . Virtually every function now being conducted by the Federal Government under the scope of the Poverty Program (particularly the educational phase and the job training phase) can be far better accomplished by the institutions of private industry, the agencies of private service organizations, and local government. These are the organizations which can best do the job. The proper role of the Federal Government should be the financial support of these existing institutions."

This new and growing willingness of the institutions of private enterprise to accept responsibility for an important role in the fight against poverty and other social ills is all to the good, and has indeed been stimulated by E&D projects, Community Action Programs, and R&D projects of Federal agencies such as MA, OEO, OE, SRS, and NIMH. An agency like MA might now take constructive advantage of this growing readiness for social engineering in the private sector by offering its experience as a "helping hand" or consultant, and its resources in funding worthwhile action projects by private organizations, just as it would support worthwhile projects undertaken by public or nonprofit organizations.

By support for seemingly excellent, innovative demonstrations that offer good potential for spread, continuity, spinoff or spillover—whether they are carried out by public agencies, private institutions or nonprofit organizations—complementary diverse approaches can be harnessed for greater impact. MA already is moving in that direction by supporting activities which involve a greater employer role in training and employing the disadvantaged. Chicago's JOBS Now project and Newark's Business and Industrial Coordinating Council are serving as MA-supported models.

One other very important need is for some agency or combination of agencies with manpower development and training responsibilities to describe, distill, and disseminate the most useful tools and techniques developed by the many E&D projects over the past few years. There have been many innovative advances for dealing with given rehabilitation problems such as remedial education, diagnostic techniques, counseling with various categories of persons, vocational skills training, and communications skills training in social adjustment skills. The findings, procedures and forms are scattered—and in effect often buried—in hundreds of not-easily-available final reports to funding agencies. A comprehensive series of streamlined loose-leaf handbooks is needed to bring together the most important things learned from all projects bearing upon our major societal problems.

experimental and demonstration programs

recruitment and community penetration

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breakthrough for disadvantaged youth

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RECRUITMENT AND COMMUNITY PENETRATION

This report examines the Manpower Administration's experimental and demonstration (E&D) projects for disadvantaged youth in terms of the success of their recruitment and community penetration efforts.

Some definitions are in order. Recruitment, as used here, refers to the strategies and procedures which project staffs tried in order to locate and involve these seriously disadvantaged (the out-of-school and out-of-work) urban and rural youth in their programs.

Community penetration, a more complex term, refers to the techniques used by the fledgling E&D projects to win a place for themselves in the ongoing communities in which they were started and, at the same time, gain support primarily from the following four different "publics":

- —The general community itself, composed of individuals and groups not specifically involved in the problems of disadvantaged youth.
- —Potential employers of these youth.
- —Agencies and organizations already running one or another kind of program aimed at satisfying the needs of such youth.
- —Indigenous groups and individuals, including prospective or actual clients or trainees, from slum neighborhoods, rural "hollows," and other disadvantaged subcommunities.

The projects themselves under review in this paper both have contributed to, and reflected, a shift to the social perspective in public policy with respect to social problems. They were launched in early 1963 on the crest, so to speak, of the social science revolution in welfare thought. Some even were undertaken by organizations and individuals who were leading the opposition against older, more individualistically oriented practices, programs and philosophies. (See Appendix at end of chapter for expansion of author's viewpoint.)

The specific task is to report upon the recruitment and community penetration efforts of E&D project staffs in terms of the apparent success or failure of the means they employed for achieving these goals. The major hypothesis to be explored is:

Recruitment and community penetration efforts which have used a social perspective, either accidentally discovered or consciously planned, have proved more successful than those which have used a more individualistically oriented approach.

Of course all issues cannot be dealt with satisfactorily under this rubric. Some particulars, such as whether monetary stipends were paid to trainees, or whether efficient working relationships existed between a specific project and other referral agencies are reality items not deeply reflective of a social perspective. But the principal thesis of this paper is that the most valuable discoveries were in precisely those program areas where socially and culturally sensitive strategies and tactics were operative.

Methodology and data used here are limited by the reliability and validity of the periodic and final reports submitted by project directors to the funding source. Since reports did not follow a standard format, the coverage given to recruitment and community penetration was spotty and, in most cases, the latter concept could be inferred only.

For example, the written documents frequently omitted or underreported program orientation and guidance in terms of identifying target subcommunities and the rationale for focusing on them. As is natural with action experiments, many projects went through a process of evolution and change and this influence on program policy is difficult to ascertain. As a supplement to available written materials, site visits were made to seven projects still in existence on original or subsequent funding and a few recent completions. Sometimes, but not always, original project personnel were available for interviews, ranging from 2- to 4-hours.

Thus, these conclusions are tentative and subject to further refinement, confirmation or contradiction. The methodology employed and the state of the documentation available make any other statement most hazardous.

IDENTIFYING TARGET POPULATIONS

The various projects examined could be classified according to the source of their trainees. Projects which carried on their own recruitment tended to define clientele in broad terms and frequently used a geographic reference, such as the ghetto, as the device of primary selection and screening. Those relying on referrals from other agencies, fell into two groups: those which left client selection to the agency and those which sought to establish quotas—age, sex, ethnic and educational backgrounds, and number of contacts with police—in order to achieve a certain "mix." [1]

VALUE OF GOOD RESEARCH

A second and lesser issue was the precision with which the target populations were originally identified. This question is related to the nature and type of program, and is, therefore, an issue of project design and tailor-making services to fit the needs of a specialized clientele—for example, those of inschool youth or those of training older workers. Sometimes the pressure to undertake immediate programs pushed aside such considerations and the definition of target populations deliberately was vague.

Examination of the E&D projects under review here indicates that the amount of advanced information available about the potential target populations for such programs ranged from none to rather elaborate and sophisticated hard data. It should not be inferred, however, that the lack of such information necessarily indicated that the given program was poorly planned and executed. Sometimes this did seem to be the case, especially when the program took, either implicitly or explicitly, a neighborhood frame of reference as a basis for planning, and then proceeded without detailed information even as to the precise boundaries of its area. Other programs geared to the recruitment of disadvantaged youth using referrals from other agencies, such as welfare or corrections, did not seem as dependent upon demographic or ecological data as guides.

A few, particularly those undertaken by established community-oriented organizations whose programs were sharply limited to precisely defined inner-city areas, appeared to have a detailed grasp not only of the characteristics and number of potential E&D program recruits, but also knew where to go in a neighborhood—even to a given block—with outreach recruitment.

RECRUITMENT PRIORITY NEEDS

It would seem essential that all programs aimed at the recruitment of hard-core disadvantaged youth have available the best possible and feasible basic demographic data about potential trainees. Especially important for programs with neighborhood outreach features is an accurate estimate of where their potential recruits are to be found in the geographic sense. This is particularly true if a specific program is to have a citywide, or countywide jurisdiction. Where do its potential populations live? What are the actual street boundaries of such areas? What are the educational, health, delinquency, ethnic and racial characteristics of such populations, area-by-area?

On the basis of this and other information, a system of recruitment priorities could be established and, if desired, various "mixes" could be made in the population characteristics of recruits, without the time-consuming disadvantage of guiding this type of selection process on a case-by-case basis. Selection by area rather than by case, provided that certain minimal criteria such as out-of-school and out-of-work status are met, would seem to be particularly attractive to a program that desired to implement an open door recruitment policy.

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[1] *Summary of Proceedings: Workshop on Problems of Planning, Recruitment and Selection for Youth-Work Programs*. November 30-December 2, 1965, Sterling Forest, New York (New York: Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth, Graduate School of Social Work, New York University), pp. 13-21.

Among most of the neighborhood-oriented E&D projects examined, both elementary locational and detailed demographic information about potential recruits was lacking. Even programs not operating with either an implicit or explicit area concept would seem to benefit from such data for quality control purposes in their recruitment phases, lest they overlook or slight the really hard-core youth populations in their particular community.

This could help avoid what happened in one of the projects visited which, without an area or neighborhood focus, accepted referrals from other agencies and wound up with a group of trainees—some 34 percent from middle-class locales. Of course it can be argued that bringing needy recruits from middle-class neighborhoods into a program might lead to more heterogenous balance. However, the program in question did not have either intent. It wanted hard-core recruits. Parenthetically, although the city in which this project operated has a sizable population of Puerto Rican newcomers, none were recruited. Of the 67 youth enrolled in the project, 19 percent were Negro and 81 percent, white.

Actually, many advantages to program management might accrue from identification of the vital statistics and other home-base background of target populations. The time, expense, and technical difficulties encountered in getting such information are not insurmountable.

Educational, health, welfare, and delinquency data often can be processed quickly as a supplement to basic U.S. Census Bureau data, which because of its 10-year reporting interval, frequently suffers a lag in timely figures. Where programs are focused on narrowly defined areas, it would be possible to conduct special surveys. Given the support of funding agencies for such activities, local programs might subcontract successfully with nearby universities for the necessary demographic and ecological analyses.

REACHING THE TRAINEE

A common practice in the E&D projects was to place a great deal of reliance on outside agencies for the referral of trainees. Many of the largest ones surveyed relied solely on this recruitment method, while others used it and other sources. Sometimes outside agency referrals provided enough trainees to meet requirements of particular programs; sometimes they did not. Before examining a few concrete conditions which apparently accounted for this difference in results, several preliminary issues must be considered.

DEPENDING ON OTHERS

First some outside agencies, such as Youth Opportunity Centers (YOC's), may be able to supply a given project with far more potential recruits than it is capable of absorbing, thus creating a pool of expectant clients whose problems are left unresolved.

Second, obtaining recruits by other agency referral robs the parent project of strict control over both the flow of recruits and their characteristics. The timing question can be most vexing if the training phase of a particular project is conducted in class-like groups in which new recruits are started periodically on new training cycles. In this case, recruits may arrive or accumulate long before a new training period is ready to begin, resulting in a serious lag between referral and involvement. Some control may be exercised over the characteristics of recruits by the selective use of agencies known to specialize in particular kinds of clients, but this is a rather crude method, subject to considerable error.

And third, it may be difficult to predict which of the agencies approached will be active in referrals. A number of the E&D projects examined appear to have resolved this last question on an empircal, or "let's find out" basis, with varying results. For example, one project which mainly used outside agencies for recruitment purposes found that of some 52 public and private agencies and organizations approached, only three were very active in terms of case referral: the county welfare department, the local Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), and the State Youth Commission. Most of the others referred less than five clients each. One or two referrals per agency also were common.

Another project, which had its own outreach program and also sought outside agency referrals, reported that although local youth board street club workers and probation officers provided a fair number of prospects, State hospitals, training schools, and penal institutions were not at all cooperative. In a third project, following these same recruitment methods, only 12 percent of its total recruits came from schools, welfare, police, courts and similar sources.

It is impossible to know whether all agencies were canvassed with the same energy or whether, when projects had their own outreach programs, these were favored to the detriment of recruitment from outside agencies. Nevertheless, a number of generalizations can be made about the successful use of outside agencies as sources of recruits.

First, it is important to know whether the client population routinely dealt with by the agency contains sufficiently large numbers of out-of-school and out-of-work youth in the age groups desired by the work project asking for referrals. If the agency deals essentially with an adult population, or with persons under 16 years of age, then obviously few referrals can be expected to a youth-work program.

Second, the agency being asked to make referrals must be "in the market" for a new referral resource. This means in essence that the agency approached must believe that its own resources are inadequate and that it needs help.

Third, it is important to realize that the agency actually is being asked to give up, in whole or in part, effective control over the cases it refers. Such an agency, whether a reformatory or a psychiatric clinic, must therefore be capable of sharing, or releasing completely, control of the clients it refers or passes over to the youth-work program. Agencies unwilling or unable to do this cannot be expected to produce many work program recruits.

Fourth, effective working relationships between the parent project and the outside referral agency must be established. At one level this means that the referral procedure must be quick, simple, and place little strain on the referral agency. The best practice would seem to require that the outside agency merely identify the potential recruits and all subsequent effort involved in referral and recruitment would then become the responsibility of the receiving project. This procedure would be quite different from that used in ordinary social work where elaborate written forms and time-consuming rituals usually must be followed. At quite another level, effective working relationships mean that parent agencies must have the trust and confidence of referral agencies. Such attitudes cannot be assumed. As a matter of fact, they often do not exist, especially in communities historically characterized by ethnic, religious, and ideological cleavages.

For example, one host agency to an E&D project, although technically nonsectarian, was white Protestant in terms of its historical origins. This agency was unable to recruit even one of the Puerto Rican youth living in the community it served. The project executive expressed willingness to recruit such youth to his program. However, as he explained it, a Spanish priest, leader of the city's Puerto Rican faction, maintained that members of his group would take care of their own.

In another case, the service area included a sizable Italian community with a long history of estrangement between it and the community-oriented program of which the E&D project was a part. For many different reasons the parent agency had never been able to win the confidence of its Italian neighbors. When the

E&D project was initiated, it enrolled largely Puerto Ricans and Negroes, following the pattern already well established in other programs run by the parent agency. Few Italians were interested in becoming part of the E&D youth-work program.

The fifth and last generalization is that an outside agency tends to produce recruits only when the services offered appear to be genuinely relevant to the needs of its clients. Thus, an agency serving largely middle-class youth cannot be expected to send many clients to enroll in a youth-work program, especially one reputed to be an antipoverty enterprise or one interested in recruiting delinquent and/or minority group youth. Experience of the E&D projects examined, also showed that casework-oriented and mental hygiene agencies, such as private family service societies and adolescent clinics, produce relatively few recruits for youth-work programs. Recruits seem most often produced by State departments of welfare, youth commissions, other poverty programs, and by similar public agencies known to handle routinely large numbers of underprivileged and minority youth. Even then such agencies tend to produce few referrals unless the other conditions described previously are also operative.

The following is a good case illustration of a youth-work program in which all five of the conditions were present. Run by an esteemed national organization for children and youth, the project sought recruits from among those rejected for voluntary service in the Armed Forces.

Operating in two large eastern cities, it placed its own staff in the same buildings as those housing Armed Forces' recruiting stations. When a youth between the ages of 17 and 22 years failed to pass his preliminary Enlistment Screening Test, he was immediately referred or brought directly to the training project recruiter who took over from there. This recruitment strategy seemed to have about everything going for it:

- It was targeted upon an appropriate disadvantaged population in the right age groups by virtue of the nature of the agency from which it sought recruits.
- The outside agency with which the training program was dealing seemed to be "in the market" for some sort of referral for those who were rejected for enlistment, and who would otherwise simply be turned back on the streets.
- There was no problem about giving up control of those referred from the viewpoint of the enlistment stations that had turned them down.
- The referral process itself, from the perspective of the referral agency, was quick and simple, and there was no occasion to lack confidence in the receiving program or its management.
- The services provided by the training program were highly relevant to the programmatic needs and interests of the referring agency which, it can be assumed, had a pragmatic interest in salvaging as many rejected volunteers as possible. (In a real sense, the participating enlistment stations were not only outside recruitment sources, they were also potential future "employers" of their own salvaged rejects.)

The procedures illustrated suggest that this attraction of recruits from outside agencies is only a special application of what appears to be a general principle underlying successful recruitment from disadvantaged neighborhoods. Certain parallels are obvious: the successful application of either type of recruitment strategy requires a vigorous outreach program that goes "where the action is." To put it another way, a favorable recruitment program is one that sends its own staff out to where disadvantaged youth in large numbers are to be found. Whether undertaken at the community level or at the level of outside agencies, both recruitment methods require the active cooperation and confidence of the "sending" social groups or organizations. Finally, both require that a minimum amount of procedure be involved, and that most of the responsibility be assumed and the action continuously initiated by the work program desirous of seeking recruits.

Experience reported by most programs successfully using outside agencies, which routinely worked with disadvantaged problem youth as sources of recruits, suggests that a careful cataloging of all agencies dealing with disadvantaged youth in a given community could be used to direct work program recruitment procedures. It would seem particularly significant for successful recruitment from these sources that the working relationships established with them should take hold precisely at those junctures where the agencies were required to make crucial decisions about the disadvantaged youth with whom they were dealing. To cite some examples—where a board of education has to decide when a "troublesome youth" has to be suspended; or when a court dealing with older adolescents routinely reaches a decision with respect to the disposition of its cases; or when a parole board or other correctional authority faces the task of making parole decisions. At all such turning points, most of the agencies presently dealing with disadvantaged youth have so few dispositional alternatives open to them that any new and realistic alternative, such as referral to a youthwork program, should be most welcome.

THE PREFERRED METHOD

The most effective method for reaching potential trainees is to assign specific project staff members to seek out recruits on a face-to-face basis. This means that staff must go to, frequent, and be "where the action is"—places where disadvantaged youth are found. Recruitment staff so assigned must be in those parts of town, on particular blocks, and in particular hangouts at those times of the day and night when such youth are available. One E&D project used street-club workers as recruiters.

The best results seemed to be achieved by projects which used their own recruiters on a vigorous outreach basis. This was measured in the ease with which project recruit quotas were met and in improved quality control.

Of the various recruitment methods tried by a project serving a large inner-city area, the periodic use of an army surplus truck as a mobile unit and staffed by employment counselors proved to be the most productive, even surpassing a decentralized recruitment unit staffed by project personnel in a neighborhood community center. Only about 12 percent of this program's trainees were referred from other agencies, although clients from these sources were sought. Even the parent agency which housed the project referred only 7 percent of the recruits identified.

Examination of this series of E&D projects strongly suggests that most of them did not enroll the most seriously disadvantaged youth in the communities being served. This was evidenced primarily in site visits made as part of this retrieval operation. In one of the most heavily funded projects visited, for example, one of the project executives interviewed remarked, ". . . we are not yet getting at the real hard core. We have very little to offer anyone with a very low reading level or who can't read at all. What do you do with a person who has had say six jobs or more in the last 6 months?"

That the youth recruited frequently were not representative of the most seriously disadvantaged in the communities being served apparently did not cause any great feelings of anxiety among project managers. As long as those brought in were youth "in need," and came in sufficient number to satisfy project quotas, there is slight evidence to show that any great drive existed to put a maximum effort into finding and attracting the really hard-core youth.

Moreover, many projects did not know precisely how many really disadvantaged youth lived in the target area, or what their characteristics were. They therefore could not discriminate among the grossly disadvantaged, the moderately disadvantaged, and the slightly disadvantaged. On the other hand, lack of this type of information acted to deter serious criticism of recruitment results as long as basic entrance criteria were met and recruitment quotas filled.

Still another factor that seemed to vitiate any drive to establish vigorous outreach programs to get at the seriously disadvantaged was that there were more than enough youth available for the various E&D projects. In fact, there seemed to be far more youth eligible than the projects were capable of absorbing. A sort of "buyer's market" existed.

Finally, many and perhaps most of the projects were not equipped in training or in job-placement terms to deal with the most seriously disadvantaged among the youth populations. Few, for example, were capable of taking in the mentally ill, the addicted, the alcoholic, or the seriously feebleminded. As originally designed, the projects were supposed to work with hard-core disadvantaged youth. But the meaning of hard core is at best ambiguous, and, in the early years, no one apparently insisted that any of the projects actually should deal with the grossly disadvantaged.

Now the pendulum has swung the other way. Unfortunately, the same lack of precision by projects in defining the target population is still in evidence. However, several participating organizations did find a way through the use of sheltered workshops to engage and make reasonably productive, according to individual capacity, some of these extremely disadvantaged persons.

It should be noted that the term disadvantaged, as used here, does not apply simply to individuals or groups suffering from cultural, economic, or political deprivation, although this is the usage that seems implicit in most antipoverty programs. Deprivations of this kind are, of course, often characteristic of populations requiring the intervention of poverty programs, but also significant among such populations are the handicaps imposed by physical and mental illness, mental retardation, gross deformities, and other types of functional and organic conditions which inhibit employability as usually defined. Certainly, the majority of E&D projects examined did not seek out recruits with disadvantages of the latter type.

For the sake of clarification it would seem that a more precise definition of just what disadvantaged means for work programs of this type is badly needed.

Several detailed observations can be made regarding the selective recruitment of hard-core youth by the projects surveyed. Some used a strict recruitment policy which served to screen out the most disadvantaged; some, perhaps most, enforced a fairly open-door type of policy and took almost anyone who applied, provided they were out-of-school and out-of-work and in the proper age group. Only a minority of the projects actually sought out the most seriously socially, mentally, and physically handicapped youth, such as those with I.Q.'s below 65, those with gross emotional disturbances, or those with some severe physical handicap.

One of the most interesting trends noted in two of the projects visited was the successful effort of the project managers to separate themselves and their projects' recruitment practices from any hint of a psychiatrically-oriented policy.

One of these projects had never had a psychiatrically-oriented policy toward programs for the disadvantaged, because the agency housing the project simply did not conceptualize in psychiatric terms the problems of poverty and urban redevelopment in which it was vitally interested. As one project executive expressed it . . . to his agency a psychiatric orientation to the problems of poverty was "insulting" to the poor; even if it were acceptable, it would require such elaborate screening and supporting therapy that it would be impossible to deal with large numbers of people quickly. Finally, neither he nor his agency believed that unemployment for the disadvantaged was a psychiatrically rooted problem, to be solved through a psychiatrically oriented program.

The history of the other project was quite different. As originally conceived, it was tightly psychiatric in orientation, having been designed principally by a psychiatrist, in close cooperation with a well-to-do citizens committee in a large midwestern city. At the program's inception, according to the project executive interviewed, many of the youth referred were rejected after a lengthy screening process because of low IQ's or lack of "proper motivation" for work, as evaluated by examining clinicians. After a long political struggle, the interviewee and other staff members, with key outside support, were able to shift the project's orientation completely away from its original, highly clinical point of view, and recruits began to flow in.

An account of this last project suggests that work programs for disadvantaged youth can readily screen out the most disadvantaged among the population in need by insisting upon certain levels of "normal" functioning as determined by the use of psychological and psychiatric examinations. These examinations may possibly have merit as part of the assessment process once recruits have been selected and involved in a program, but recruitment and selection on this basis seems particularly hazardous for any program aimed at engaging the most disadvantaged. Not only are such techniques usually slow and cumbersome, but, as commonly used, they are also notoriously subject to middle-class biases and distortions.

There are, of course, many other ways in which selection criteria can be used to exclude the most disadvantaged, and no attempt will be made to review all such criteria here. But one further illustration seems most appropriate. In one major E&D project the local board of education ran the training phase of the program during its early stages, and the board refused to accept trainees with either a police or juvenile court record. What this contributed to the screening out of those most in need of service can easily be imagined.

The lesson to be learned here seems simple enough. Projects of the type surveyed obviously must have a few guidelines to set standards for recruitment: for instance, potential clients should be out-of-school, out-of-work, and in the proper age group. But if additional criteria are to be imposed, such as proper motivation for work, normal intellectual functioning, or absence of any police or court record, then the projects cannot hope to reach the most disadvantaged. If fairly strict standards of mental and physical health are also required, then the projects assuredly will not tap the youth populations which are most in need of their services.

Indeed a counter recruitment policy would appear to be necessary, wherein recruits would be chosen because they were poorly motivated towards work, below normal in intellectual functioning, and had extensive police and court records. Standards of poor mental and physical health might even be set. Programs guided by these recruitment standards would be much more apt to get at those most in need.

CORRECT CREDENTIALS

The matter of a project's reputation is a most elusive one, particularly when it comes to the question of the repute of a program within the target community of concern. The issue of a project's reputation among potential recruits will be discussed later.

This review of E&D projects as well as general knowledge of recent efforts to employ more effectively the disadvantaged in general welfare programs, led to the following suggestion: various types of welfare and remedial programs prosper or founder in their different phases, including voluntary recruitment, depending upon whether or not members of the target population have a favorable attitude toward such programs. Moreover, the attitude of the target population that a particular program represents "a good deal" for its members, or is viewed as being "on our side," need not necessarily be shared by the more general public, potential employers, or members of other welfare, educational, and social control-type agencies.

In fact, one good strategy for penetrating a disadvantaged community with an outside funded program may well be to seek to have the project defined by the target population as one which represents its best interests as opposed to those of outside groups, many of which may actually conflict with the best interests of the disadvantaged.

Many, perhaps most, of the E&D projects reviewed appeared to lack this depth approach to reputation building as a source of recruits. In a few, the idea seemed fairly well developed that the program should give good service and actually lead to jobs, and that this would help recruitment. In only a few programs, however, was there any hint that program planning, including that for recruitment, counted on the target population to be favorably disposed toward the program, because they had been preconditioned to perceive it as on their side not only in a simple service sense, but also in a more militant sense.

This raises a serious problem for future training programs for disadvantaged youth. For example, how can favorable predispositions toward a program on the part of potential recruits be cultivated if the agency implementing the program traditionally has been defined by the disadvantaged population as serving the interests of "the other side"?

SOCIAL PRESTIGE FACTOR

One of the most interesting findings of this review of E&D projects with respect to reaching potential trainees was the importance of status inducements for motivating disadvantaged youth to participate in such programs. As used here, the concept of status refers to the social prestige which potential trainees believe they would either gain or lose by engaging in programs, and does not pertain to trainee estimates as to whether or not participation would lead to jobs. The concept also includes, in a narrower sense, whether or not potential trainees define participation as inherently good, in the sense that their present and immediate position vis-a-vis their reference groups would be improved by the mere act of participation.

The social prestige factor was most clearly evident in several programs examined when it became obvious that potential trainees were keenly sensitive to the public definitions given to the programs for which they were being recruited. Thus, if program staff or the more general public defined such programs as anti-delinquency programs or as poverty programs, potential trainees seemed to have a tendency to shun them because of the negative connotations associated with such labels. The preferable label seemed to be that of work program. Hardly anyone seemed to resent being associated with this type of project.

One of the projects visited was established within the ongoing program of a correctional institution for youth. Here it seemed clear that participation in the project provided some of the inmates with a form of "special privilege" not open to most of the others. Participants received a type of training which was apparently superior to that generally offered by the institution. They were also rewarded with certain immediate benefits, such as exemption from the routine housekeeping chores performed by other inmates, and, in the case of those being trained in the culinary arts, much better food than that ordinarily available to other inmates. In fact, one of the side effects reported by the project executive was that the better quality of food served in the E&D culinary arts training program had led the institutional administration to improve the quality of food prepared for the general inmate population in the common mess hall.

Another project examined, which was conspicuous for the few number of trainees involved and the highly selective manner in which it recruited the best of all applicants, consciously attempted to build an esprit de corps into each of its small residential classes. The project even went to the extreme of having their trainees wear distinctive blazers and participate in graduation ceremonies in emulation of the private prep school tradition.

It is difficult to judge how much influence such policies had on the recruitment of new rounds of potential trainees, or even how much the policies contributed to the low dropout rate of the project mentioned—only two or three boys out of a total of 60. Certainly the rigorous admittance policy in which only the top applicants were accepted, and all others excluded, also would be an important factor in accounting for the low dropout rate. However, even the strict admittance policy can be interpreted as having an esprit de crops function associated with it.

As a matter of fact, even the question of monetary stipends for trainees can be interpreted from the status point of view. It is not only that money in its own right attracts trainees but control of the stipend actually confers a considerable special privilege on a youth from a seriously handicapped background who otherwise would have no such advantage. At his economic level, the stipend means a real and highly visible rise in living standards for himself, and perhaps even for his family.

How far future work programs for disadvantaged youth should push status inducements is at this point difficult to estimate. It does, however, seem to constitute an issue that must be addressed in terms of recruitment policy and in terms of the holding power of programs on trainees.

USE OF MASS MEDIA

In contrast with this aggressive outreach policy of face-to-face recruitment by project staff, the poorest recruitment techniques seemed to be those which used the depersonalized media of city-wide newspapers, radio, and television. Although recruitment results, in terms of directly reaching potential trainees by mass media, were reported generally as highly disappointing, one experienced E&D project executive interviewed speculated at some length about the possibility that this failure mostly reflected the lack of know-how on the part of projects in the use of mass media to communicate with the hard-to-reach populations. He suggested that since there was a TV set in virtually every slum home, and as the sets seemed to be in use almost constantly, the lines of communication existed, but that action programs and similar efforts had simply not yet learned how to take advantage of these avenues. He further suggested that TV channels might be useful for recruitment and other purposes if combined with simultaneous neighborhood meetings in different parts of a large city, but added that little seemed to have been done with this idea.

However, the negative results of the mass media in direct recruitment terms should not be confused with the strong positive results reported by various projects in community penetration terms, when the mass media were systematically used to build up favorable public images about their programs. Not only were the attitudes of the general public favorably influenced, reported the personnel of some of these E&D projects, but knowledge of and a good image of the program were diffused among various welfare, educational, and business communities—many of whom were likely to be directly involved in some fashion in the actual functioning of the local E&D project, and eventually in its success or failure.

Thus good citywide, and sometimes statewide, publicity was deemed most helpful in getting some of the projects launched and successfully conducted because it favorably influenced the general public, prospective employers, and various organizations whose cooperation was essential, even though such publicity seemed to have little direct effect on potential recruits. The influence of the mass media in this regard seemed more pronounced for programs in medium-sized cities than for most of the programs in large urban centers.

One final point should be noted regarding the use of public media for recruitment purposes: a number of the projects which used a particular local area as a source of recruits reported that posters and throwaway circulars had a notable impact on recruitment when they were placed where the youth sought after as trainees actually congregated, such as in pool halls, barber shops, and candy stores.

The influence of monetary inducements on the recruitment process quickly may be disposed of: such inducements are necessary to attract and hold recruits. If stipends were not provided by the project, the sponsoring agency or some other source was often required to put up the money to pay for them. One project executive felt that although stipends were desirable during phases of the program when trainees were actually engaged in doing productive work, they should not be given during early program phases, such as intake and evaluation. In simple empirical terms, however, stipends dispensed from the beginning would seem to prove an important inducement for attracting and holding trainees. It would also seem highly desirable that project stipends be on a par with those of other competing types of youth-work programs.

INFORMAL RECRUITMENT METHODS

One of the strongest impressions gained from this review of E&D projects is that, once a program is rolling along, the trainees themselves become an important source of new recruits. Whenever the point was discussed by project executives, the conclusion was that trainees produced a sizable number of new recruits, a fact which often occasioned executive surprise. Using trainees to reach target neighborhoods through involvement of their peers and associates is a type of recruitment practice which merits considerable development and attention by future programs.

A number of projects also reported that the families of disadvantaged youth played a significant role in referring potential trainees. Thus, combined with the influence of peers, the informal system of social relationships existing within the target subcommunities which most of the E&D projects were trying to penetrate seemed to play an important part in the flow of recruits. For example, in one project reviewed, some 46 percent of the youth referred were sent in by either a friend or relative. In another large project, some 41 percent were referred by friends or relatives, as compared with 22 percent by direct recruitment and 36 percent from other agencies.

Nevertheless, review of the general recruitment practices of the projects fails to show that many of them made any sustained and calculated effort to capitalize upon the existent networks of social relationships as a source of potential trainees.

In one of the programs using nonprofessional indigenous workers, project executives reported that they knew they were not getting at the really hard-core disadvantaged youth in their communities because the neighborhood people involved in the program were familiar enough with the target neighborhoods to realize that this type of youth was being missed.

One of the projects examined reported simply that:

> . . . In recruitment, we found that one of the best methods was to involve the youth presently in the program to recruit others of similar circumstances. I would say that the large percentage of our students were recruited by such personal contact.

Another project, operating in a rural community, used volunteers to help bridge the social and geographic distance between the project and widely scattered potential trainees. The same volunteers reportedly were useful in developing a good reputation for the project.

All of the projects were designed to handle modest, even extremely small, numbers of trainees. The largest, JOIN in New York City, was scheduled to work with 8,000 youth, but the total number of clients allocated to many of the other projects was much smaller: 2,500; 2,000; 1,860; 1,000; 600; and 100. Several were slated to take even smaller numbers: 60; 40; 30; and in one case, 12. Since, as is customary in many E&D efforts, most of the projects were not dealing with large numbers of subjects, they were not under any great pressure to find enough trainees to meet their contract obligations. Recruitment apparently was fairly easy. One project report put it this

> . . . Thus, the problem of recruitment very soon appeared to our staff to be one of having adequate services to offer in the first place, and then of having personable and well-trained staff members able to interpret and offer those services to the counselees. If these conditions were not present, it was felt that word-of-mouth and minimal community work would be sufficient to enlist enrollees.

However, on the whole there seemed to be little consensus in the various projects about the use of indigenous personnel, including the trainees themselves, as sources of possible recruits. Some of the E&D project reports even suggested that such personnel sometimes abused the confidential nature of records, failed to control young workers, attempted to exploit them, and in other ways proved unsatisfactory. Obviously there are some disadvantages that must be overcome in the use of indigenous workers to tap into the informal relationships existent among groups of potential trainees.

In sum, only a few of the programs

attempted to penetrate their target communities through the planned use of informal peer, neighborhood, and family relationships in the recruitment of their trainees. Most projects examined were more largely dependent in policy terms upon the development of referral relationships with other agencies, or upon the use of nonindigenous outreach personnel, with or without the support of special outreach facilities.

Generally it appeared that essentially only the sophisticated and well-established community-oriented programs in large cities seriously attempted to use indigenous personnel and structures for recruitment. It is noteworthy that such programs already were set up and well established before they added E&D project funding. Even so, one of their executives reported that "more door-to-door" recruitment would have been desirable in a program designed to reach the truly hard-core youth populations.

RURAL AREA RECRUITMENT

In an era when television is blurring the distinctions between urban and rural residents, it comes as a surprise to discover that geography can influence the type of recruitment effort, if the target population happens to be unemployed or underemployed rural residents. One E&D project in Appalachia made this discovery, almost by accident. Its description of one rural environment highlights the problem:

> . . . The geography of Kanawha County (West Virginia) is hilly. Residences are mostly in the valleys (hollows) with a narrow road winding up the valley. Small valleys off from the main valley roads are usually reached by means of an unpaved road. For geographical reasons and because of the close family-tied tendencies of these residents, a clannish type of social structure exists. Often urban outsiders are regarded suspiciously and not accepted by these residents.

Another project in North Carolina made the same point: "Most people unfamiliar with rural areas are unaware of the extent to which their inhabitants are separated from the mainstream of contemporary life. . . . [For this reason] the indigenous nonprofessional is [more likely] to establish rapport with a potential client because he is familiar with the client's environment and can understand his attitudes and interests."

Field experiences of recruitment workers who participated in the Manpower Improvement Through Community Effort (MITCE) program in North Carolina are especially significant because of the program's extensive reliance on nonprofessionals.

The following exerpts are from *The Nonprofessional in a Rural Manpower Program,* the North Carolina Fund, P.O. Box 687, Durham, N.C. 27702:

> . . . The only clear obstacle to recruiting in the rural areas has been the seasonal nature of farm work. Some work which is available from April to October pays $3 to $5 per day. Potential applicants are sometimes reluctant to give up their assured income, scant as it may be, for promises of future betterment. Recruiting is difficult [in the summer] because during the daylight hours the adults of the house are usually in the field, working with the crops. Moreover, many poor people in rural areas live in quarters provided by the landlord; they could sometimes be forced to move elsewhere if they no longer worked for him (some have accumulated debts to their landlord over the winter months when they were unemployed and feel an obligation to work them off). Nevertheless, recruiting during the winter months usually yields an abundance of applicants.
>
> . . . Besides going to each house in a depressed area to recruit, some rural field workers take advantage of the local country store or community church as means of contacting large numbers of the needy. These field workers persuade the storekeeper to give the literature to area residents, partly by pointing out the increased income that storekeepers will derive from steadily employed customers. Since the pastor is usually a cir-

cuit rider who may visit his church only once a month, field workers also contact (with reported effectiveness) the lay leaders of local churches.

> . . . It is not unusual for field workers to take on additional chores such as distributing Government surplus food to families that they have contacted because the father who is on welfare was bedridden and the mother had heart disease.
>
> . . . Prospective applicants frequently will not become involved with the field workers on the first visit; although they appear to cooperate, they give incomplete or inaccurate information to the field worker. [Only] upon his return visit [do] they begin to trust him and to be more open about their problems. Followup visits [must] continue to be made to participants before, during and after they have been placed in training.
>
> . . . Some rural field workers (one to each 60 active applicants) cover from 300 to 500 miles during a week in the field, although most average 75 miles a day.

Training projects for rural residents usually provide transportation in the form of a bus service that picks up trainees in the morning at pre-determined points and returns them to these same locations at the end of the day. A few programs have gotten around the transportation problem by providing sleeping quarters either in nearby college dormitories or by paying the monthly rentals for furnished rooms in town.

Another technique which has been particularly successful with rural applicants is termed *Group Intake Interviewing,* reportedly reducing initial dropout rates from 24 to 14 percent.

The theory behind this technique rests on the assumption that the applicant will decide whether or not to enter the program during the first half hour of the intake interview.

One project involving rural residents in New Jersey received considerable assistance in recruitment through referrals from other agencies, including welfare, probation, parole, high schools, churches, county and State health departments, mental health agencies, Rehabilitation Commission, county and municipal officials, police departments, youth organizations, juvenile court judges, local community action programs, veterans groups and others. Each of these sources varied in the extent of its cooperation and often "months elapsed before some agency contacts resulted in actual referrals."

This rural youth development project also made use of the public media as a supplement to both face-to-face recruitment and referral. According to a 1966 report on this project published by the New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity, "Among these efforts were the use of widespread distribution of pamphlets explaining the program, display cars, human interest newspaper coverage which was actively sought, and some limited radio broadcasts arranged by the Employment Service. . . ." The OEO report added, however, that "since few enrollees cited these devices as primarily responsible for their interest in the program . . . it is assumed that they were of negligible value. . . ."

FIRST CONTACT AND HOLDING POWER

One of the major difficulties found in work programs for disadvantaged youth develops because elaborate prevocational testing and often extensive psychological study of incoming recruits are required. Furthermore, most programs offer training, not work, to recruits at the point of entry into the ongoing program after testing and individual study is completed. New recruits generally do not expect to be tested, studied, and then trained. Instead, they generally anticipate getting a job. Their perception is that of JOBS Now, the program title of one of a series of E&D projects in Chicago. This difference in expectation between those starting to participate in work programs as clients and those running such programs from a testing-study-training orientation precipitates what is perhaps the first major strain between newly enrolled recruits and program staff.

Thus, not only do work programs face the initial task of finding and actually enrolling suitably disadvantaged recruits, but they also face the task of keeping them actively participating in a program's activities as they move through its various phases.

WHY TEST?

It would seem reasonable to presume that it is more difficult to stimulate participation in a program with an open-door policy of enrollment than in one that is highly selective in recruitment. Selectivity usually means that potential enrollees are weeded out according to some set of psychological and performance standards, with the best being selected and the worst rejected. In all probability, the various tests and criteria used for this purpose actually serve to accept for programs those potential enrollees who, in a cultural sense, are far more ready to participate in a testing-study-training type operation, than are those who are rejected.

Therefore, it would appear that work programs emphasizing a strong testing-study-training component and using highly selective enrollment practices would have minimal problems in holding onto their trainees once they were finally selected. The chief difficulty with these programs is that they do not seem to be serving the most disadvantaged among the socially deprived, but rather the most select.

One of the smaller E&D projects surveyed illustrates quite nicely how highly selective a program can be in its enrollment of potential recruits. This program used its own social workers stationed in various, widely-scattered deprived areas of a major city to identify periodically potential trainees. The workers tended to recommend those boys with whom they were well acquainted rather than boys who were strangers. The names of the recommended youth were then forwarded to a private vocational testing service, located in the central part of the city, and the boys instructed to go to this office for testing and study, a process which took about 2 weeks. Those who showed up at the office were assessed. It took still another week to select the 15 boys who were to participate in each of the 16-week residential training cycles used in the project. While in residence upstate, each boy received a $27 weekly allowance and an extra $28 a week for his maintenance, which he paid to the training residence. The youth were trained in the operation of office duplicating machines. Of the total 60 involved in the 4 training cycles run by this project, only two boys dropped out.

It would seem fair to conclude that part of the spectacular holding power of this project resulted from its residential nature and because of the monetary stipends given to each participant. It also seems reasonable to conclude, however, that the very processes by which enrollees were identified, tested, and studied resulted in a highly select type of youth actually being recruited.

Unfortunately very little information is available from this project describing the characteristics of the youth first identified and then enrolled in this program, and no information is available describing differences between those originally identified as prospective trainees and those who actually ended up in the program. A comment made by one of the project's executives is, however, suggestive. She reported that some boys enrolled in later phases of this program were recommended by youth who had already completed the program. Often the youth recommended by other boys were strangers to their host agency's social workers, she continued, and because of this they had many additional problems with which the workers were unfamiliar. When youth of this kind actually found their way into a training cycle, they "didn't seem to work out too well." This would suggest that the recommending social worker's first-hand knowledge of those he proposed for the project was itself a basis for screening potential trainees, and eliminating troublesome ones.

IMMEDIATE INVOLVEMENT

Aside from the rather dubious enlistment and enrollment practices illustrated in the immediately preceding example, there are several other means by which the holding power of work programs can be increased. All are gleaned from experience gained from the E&D projects under examination. These methods can be applied by any type of program, but seem especially suited to ones that do not intend to be highly selective in their approach to potential trainees. In fact, several of the following seem particularly well adapted to keeping all potential enrollees, even those most likely to drop out, involved in program activities.

One of the simplest methods, but sometimes the most difficult to accomplish, is to avoid any delay whatsover between identification, intake, and subsequent program involvement for prospective enrollees. Immediate involvement should be the watchword.

A second technique is to employ local people in neighborhood-type programs and culturally similar people, wherever possible, in all programs at those points where face-to-face contact is made with trainees. It would be highly desirable if such project personnel operating at the local level in neighborhood programs would also be known, at least by reputation, to prospective program enrollees.

A third and simple device would be making monetary stipends available to trainees as soon as possible, within a few days at most after they first exhibit interest in a program.

A fourth procedure would be to multiply the role relationships between project staff and trainees so that relationships are not limited to the typical teacher-student, patient-therapist roles.

A fifth way is strictly organizational. To cut down on the delay encountered in getting prospective trainees involved in programs, the latter should be able to take in and absorb new recruits at any time, without waiting for a new training cycle to begin.

Although a good deal of testing and study of trainees perhaps may be desirable for many reasons, including proper job training and placement and for purposes of project research and evaluation, examinations should occur only after a trainee has been enrolled actively in a program. It even seems desirable for trainees to be paid stipends during this period of testing and study. Application of this device presumes, of course, that program managers want to exercise an open-door policy with respect to recruitment.

NEED FOR DATA

The quantity and quality of information compiled about individual enrollees varied greatly in the E&D projects examined. In some, very little information of a descriptive nature was reported. On the other hand, many projects gathered and reported a considerable amount about their trainees—much of it demographic, or related to educational achievement or general health, or representative of the typical psychosocial information customarily gathered about a client and his family by social caseworkers and psychologists. Considerable data pertaining to vocational interests and capacities also were often assembled as a means of making judgments about job training and placement. Usually this information was obtained by means of interviews and tests administered to trainees in an office-type situation, although occasional field visits were made to the trainee's home and family. Almost everything that was done was fairly conventional according to prevailing practices in psychology, social casework, and vocational counseling.

None of the projects seemed to take advantage of the newest social science efforts to assess and to understand the underprivileged. None appeared to use, for example, subcultural analyses on either a social class or ethnic basis to appraise trainees. Although clearly peer reltionships were very vital in the recruitment of trainees in many projects, none of them seemed to have recorded systematically the peer relationships of trainees as these existed in their natural operating milieu in an attempt to advance the recruitment process or guide the structuring of training assignments or other types of involvements.

CONCLUSIONS

The portrait of trainees presented by the different studies done on them was a highly individualistic one—as though trainees adequately could be understood and handled in program terms without much knowledge of their social, social psychological, and cultural characteristics.

Very little effort seems to have been made in these E&D projects to visualize or plan for trainees in terms of their social relationships, either with other workers in project terms, or with significant nontrainees back home in their own surroundings. A conspicuous exception to this is found in the proceedings of a few which used work crews as part of their programs, and in others which tried to build into small trainee groups a sort of esprit de crops.

One project visited made good use in program terms of the work-community concept exemplified by the sheltered workshop, a feature it borrowed from the host agency housing it. The disadvantaged youth recruited for this project were consciously assimilated into the ongoing social system of the sheltered workshop.

This technique seemed to exercise good holding power, perhaps because, as the project executive interviewed reflected, the youthful trainees soon began to feel that they were "not so badly off after all" as compared with the other workers routinely employed in the shop, many of whom obviously were older and also much more characterized by gross mental and psychic disabilities than they were.

One of the most promising developments in the future planning and execution of work programs for disadvantaged youth would seem to lie in the area of increased sophistication regarding the use of social science principles in the recruitment and subsequent retention of trainees.

The advancements being made in this area in the fields of education, social welfare, and mental health should, it would seem, be reflected progressively in work programs for disadvantaged youth.

The E&D projects reviewed here have contributed to the implementation of a rapidly-developing social perspective on social problems. In terms of recruitment practices and also in terms of efforts at community penetration, the projects have made the most significant achievements in the following areas:

—Either implicitly or explicitly most of the projects have taken a neighborhood or area perspective, noting that disadvantaged youth are concentrated in particular pockets, ghettos, and rural hollows, and have guided their efforts according to such a community orientation.

—Some projects have explicitly recognized that certain existing agencies routinely process and handle large numbers of disadvantaged youth, and that these agencies could be used as bridges to reach youth in need easily.

—Through the use of vigorous outreach programs, sometimes to neighborhoods and sometimes directly to other agencies, many of the projects have demonstrated their ability to recruit their quotas of youth in need of vocational service.

—Some of the projects, particularly those that were launched as part of already ongoing community-oriented programs, have been able to build a most favorable reputation among prospective client populations as being "a good deal."

—Experience with monetary stipends in many of the projects has served to reinforce the more general opinion in the work program field that these stipends are necessary features to be taken into account in program planning.

—The role of social prestige factors in the motivation of trainees also has been demonstrated rather clearly. Thus, it is of advantage to such programs to provide participants with immediate status gains in terms of program participation, as well as in terms of the promise of future rewards in employment terms.

—A number of the projects quite clearly were able to break away from the traditional psychiatric view of social problems as sometimes applied to the problems of unemployed and disadvantaged youth. However, in many of the programs, particularly in terms of their individualistic view of trainees and in terms of the type of studies done on trainees, the residual influences of the conventional psycho-social perspective linger on.

Areas in which initial gains were made toward an implementation of a social science perspective in work programs, but where much future development is required, also are exemplified by the experience of this series of E&D projects.

Of particular note here is the clear role trainees themselves play in the recruitment of additional trainees. Although plainly recognized in program after program, few systematic attempts were made to capitalize upon and expand this method of recruitment.

The use of subcultural lines of analysis for understanding trainees was also conspicuous by its absence.

As also was apparent in several programs, existing community cleavages between different ethnic groups, which impeded recruitment and community penetration, offered barriers not easily surmounted by the programs that encountered them.

Finally, very few of these programs were able to recruit and hold onto the most seriously deprived among the Nation's youth.

All these and other still unresolved, or perhaps even unspecified, problems stemming from the inherent nature of community life in a heterogeneous society must subsequently be addressed by youth-work programs, as well as by other types of programs seeking to intervene effectively with disadvantaged populations.

8

The Social Science Revolution in Social Welfare Thought

By John M. Martin

Taken in the context of their time, the Manpower Administration's E&D projects, along with many others funded by Federal and foundation sources during the last several years, reflect acknowledgement of the fact that considerable sectors of the American population are being left out of effective economic, political, and cultural involvements in the mainstream of American life, and that drastic new policies and programs must be developed if these inequities are to be reduced or removed. But the development of new approaches is scarcely sufficient. What is new and what is workable must actually be applied to supplement or supplant older, less effective strategies and techniques, if innovation is in fact to occur in a widespread and meaningful way.

For centuries work has been viewed as a solution to social problems among the poor. In Elizabethan England, for example, with the decline of feudalism, the growth of towns and trade, the rise of pauperism, and the sharp increases in property crimes and crimes of violence, distinctions were drawn in highly moralistic terms between the "worthy" and the "unworthy" poor. The former were defined as "good" people who because of injury, illness, or age were unable to work; the latter, as "bad" people who would not work and who were therefore fit subjects for workhouses where they could be made to produce.

Although these notions are still current, the development of modern social and behavioral science has led to more sophisticated views about what should be done about the social problems associated with poverty. Some of the more recent interpretations have cited the lack of educational and employment opportunities faced by impoverished classes and minority groups. Others have pointed to the cultural deprivations of such groups and the need, on the one hand, to develop for their benefit programs of cultural enrichment, and, on the other, the need for schoolteachers, social workers, court officials, and others constantly in touch with, and making crucial decisions about the poor, to develop greater tolerance for cultural differences.

Still others, though in the minority, have raised the issue of community power and its relationship to the rise and development of social problems among the economically deprived. This view holds that the vast professional bureaucracies which have been created in modern society to deal with social problems function as interest groups themselves in the power sense. This does not mean that policy formation in such bureaucracies is controlled by community elites, although this often seems to occur; but rather that such bureaucracies, alone and in coalition, are so organized and so structured that the chance for outside criticism and subsequent innovation and change is held to a minimum by various devices and impediments.

Furthermore, according to this last point of view, vital to the maintenance of this equilibrium is the control and neutralization of "clients" themselves, especially by programs designed to prevent effective interaction among recipients and hence to prevent their collective political organization and action. To theoreticians of this persuasion, the problems of the poor are basically political, the solution to which would require the wringing of greater and greater concessions from the dominant community by an organized collectivity representing the poor in the bargaining process.

The list of explanations of poverty, its various concomitant social problems, and what should be done about such conditions is virtually endless. Almost every man has his own idea about why people are poor and why poor people act as they do. In part, such differences in interpretation reflect deeply-seated differences in the personality of definers themselves, but such differences in interpretation also reflect differences in the social climate of the times. Thus, for several decades after World War I, when interest in psychology was on the rise, social problems were largely explained as aggregates of individual problems—as conditions reflecting the intellectual or psychic deficiencies of problem individuals or of problem families.

During the last 5 or 10 years in America the fashion in the study of social problems has shifted somewhat in the direction of broader social and cultural conditions, as "private troubles" have increasingly been distinguished from "public social issues." The former are defined as the idiosyncratic maladjustments of individuals or their families; the latter, as conditions reflecting fundamental dislocations in the institutional fabric of society itself. This partial shift in public definitions has been facilitated somewhat by the fact that a number of American sociologists, economists, and others have recently advanced a structural line of analysis in explaining social problems, a point of view standing in sharp contrast to the more influential psychic interpretations advanced by those of a psychiatric persuasion, including not only clinicians but also other influentials and practitioners. In past years even many sociologists have contributed to this type of psychic interpretation, as witness the voluminous sociological writings of the 1920's, 1930's, and even 1940's in which, in accounting for the existence of social problems, stress was placed in the narrowest sense upon "social and personal pathology."

The structural line of analysis is, of course, also quite different from the laissez-faire position well established in economic thought, and well articulated even today by many of those who speak out on social problems and other public issues.

The definition of social problems as "public social issues" has also in part been advanced at the pragmatic level by program managers and staff who on an ad hoc basis have found that they are not dealing with aggregates of isolated individuals, but with social groups and subcultures which simply do not yield to techniques tightly framed in individualistic terms. Perhaps one of the clearest instances of such recognition occurred in the field of education with the discovery and acceptance by theoreticians and practictioners alike of the concept of the "culturally deprived child." Another area which has markedly advanced the "public social issues" viewpoint is, of course, the field of civil rights where a variety of institutional dislocations have come under increasingly heavy criticism. The same general trend is discernible to a lesser degree in other allied fields, such as mental health, juvenile delinquency, urban redevelopment, and vocational rehabilitation.

experimental and demonstration programs

testing, counseling, and supportive services

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breakthrough for disadvantaged youth

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TESTING, COUNSELING, AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

This report seeks to describe the major features of assessment, counseling, and supportive services as reported in the documents produced during the period 1962-65 by the experimental and demonstration (E&D) projects for disadvantaged youth funded under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA). It also attempts to identify new knowledges and techniques which represent innovations in working with these youth, and focuses on implications for future policies, programs, and strategies.

E&D programs operated within a psychological frame of reference, locating the problem of youth unemployment within the unemployed youth themselves. They directed their efforts to producing change in the youth by direct intervention in their behavior and experience. None of the more than 50 individual E&D projects has been primarily social or structural. They do not attempt to define, manipulate, or change economic or social variables, such as the structure of job opportunities, hiring and promotion patterns, employer judgments and attitudes, or housing, geography, and localization of unemployed populations, or the health, income, and economic character of disadvantagement.

While there is general agreement that such factors represent the conditions to which youth have responded in ways which include unemployment, the approach of the E&D program has been to assume that these are conditions which can be changed through changing the youth. As a consequence, there were no projects which experimented with providing employers with monetary incentives for hiring disadvantaged youth, nor did any of the projects experiment with breaking up ghettos and ghetto education. The assumption of a psychological frame of reference is of questionable validity. It has been argued that the unemployed youth is not a psychological cripple so far as work is concerned and that he is not the cause of his unemployment.

Since local initiative has been exercised in E&D projects, program design has varied from one project to another. Consequently, the techniques used can be evaluated only in relation to the project where they were employed. In addition, the meaning of "experimental and demonstration," as applied to these projects, is unclear. Under one definition of the term, a variety of different kinds of projects would be expected to follow the approach and techniques being tried out, and the outcomes at each project would be compared. Under the other, each project would experiment by trying out several approaches and report on its outcomes. Some of the projects considered in this study have followed the first course and others the second.

Another feature is the absence of a clear policy concerning the limits of demonstration. Should projects have a large amount of money and a carefully selected staff to devote to a fully rounded program for a modest number of disadvantaged youth? Or should they try to show what can be done with available facilities and personnel serving as many youth as possible? Projects of the former type are more likely to demonstrate new techniques and serve as a model of the best practice to which others may aspire, while the latter may be closer to what is possible in a national manpower program.

Still another point of confusion is the conflict between the goals of research and of service. Is the primary concern of E&D projects to gain knowledge and experience or to serve the maximum number of youth?

Despite these problems, it must be said that the E&D program of the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration has been remarkably productive of a sense of ferment, exploration, and discovery in working with disadvantaged young people. It has pioneered in an area which had heretofore received scant attention. The programs it has sponsored have come very close to changing completely and fundamentally traditional practices and concepts, and have generated a mass of ideas and notions, however inchoate they may be.

ASSESSMENT

It is not always easy to discriminate between assessment and other program elements such as counseling (in which there is a continuous process of assessment by the counselor and client), training (especially when tests are used as vehicles of teaching, as the subjects to be taught, as criteria for teaching effectiveness, and as evaluations of trainee needs and progress), and work experience which forms one of the contexts in which assessment took place in E&D projects. The problem is compounded further because techniques, even when serving an exclusively assessment function, vary in formality from highly structured aptitude, interest, and personality tests, through formal behavioral observation and rating, to informal and clinical evaluations. Thus the decision to include particular program elements in this report section may, in some cases, be arbitrary.

The author made his selection according to the following criteria: (1) All tests applied to trainees—rather than to subprofessional or volunteer staffs, or to trainees as subjects in research; (2) all processes used to characterize, describe, or "place" the trainee vis-a-vis other trainees, workers, or training and/or job requirements; and (3) procedures were used, generally during intake, to make decisions about the status and needs of trainees, or about their suitability for the project.

This report will deal first with the use of psychological and vocational tests, trainee responses to them, the preparation of trainees for testing, the use to which tests and test scores were put, including test-retest evaluations of program effectiveness, and a summary of pertinent test findings. The report then will describe less formal and nontest assessment procedures; clinical evaluation, homemade "tests," ratings of work experience performances, and work samples—concluding with two special aspects of assessment: self-assessment, and training in taking employment tests. The report will then move to the evaluative level and list major innovations and new knowledges in each of the above areas, state some general problems which need further exploration, and also some conclusions and recommendations for further programing.

TESTS USED

Although use of more than 60 psychological and vocational tests was reported to the writer by 25 E&D projects, the list obviously was incomplete in at least two respects:

1. There was no necessary relationship between the number of projects citing a particular test and the number of youth given the test.

—For example, the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) was administered selectively by several projects, making it second only to the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) in number of using projects; however, within each project, the WAIS seldom was administered except for special problems requiring extensive diagnostic exploration, while the GATB was given to as many youth as would take it.

2. Many project reports do not mention any tests, or they mention tests by type rather than by name.

—This was a testimony to the inadequacy of documentation in many projects showing that some reports contain inferential evidence that a particular test was used, but do not specifically cite its use in their sections on assessment. This is particularly true for the GATB, which probably was used in almost all projects, though it is mentioned by name in only 14 reports.

One project, the Police Athletic League (PAL) in New York City made special arrangements for its Spanish-speaking youth. It used a Spanish language test (AA Testa Comprehension Mechanical), the Performance Scale of WAIS, and on occasion used an interpreter to administer tests. Another New York City project, Vocational Advisory Service (VAS-Altro), used informal work tryouts in lieu of testing for non-English speaking Puerto Rican youth.

At least eight projects which used the GATB did so in cooperation with the State Employment Service (ES), to whom the youth were referred for testing, or through arrangements in which local ES personnel conducted the testing at the project site. In some of these projects, ES screening and referral forms, required by MDTA, were completed by a representative stationed full or part time at the site so that project intake personnel would not have to send applicants to another office in another part of town for such clearance. This arrangement made the intake more accepting and personal for the youth.

Goodwill Industries of Springfield, Mass. suggested that the WAIS be given before the Draw-A-Person test. To generalize, it is suggested that objective structured tests of clear vocational relevance precede less structured and projective tests which likely seem strange or irrelevant to the youth.

The list of tests submitted by the projects was composed entirely of old standard tests. There had been little or no experimenting with newer instruments, or even much searching in Oscar K. Buros' *Mental Measurements Yearbook* for less well-known tests, or for tests that go beyond the most obvious and traditional ones in the counseling-guidance repertoire. For example, not a single project reported even experimenting with the Ammons Picture Vocabulary Test, despite the fact that the U.S. Job Corps specifically selected it for use with disadvantaged youth. Other non-verbal tests also are missing, such as the Leiter International Scale.

By and large, the selection of tests and testing programs seemed more determined by factors of expediency than by a careful and comprehensive evaluation of the merit and worth of available and relevant tests. There can be no excuse for use of the Kuder Preference Record (KPR) instead of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB). The latter is the most versatile and best standardized non-intelligence test in existence; it takes longer to give and to score than the KPR, but the Kuder offers only a limited range of interpretations and in any case has never been validated at any acceptable level. It appeared likely that a preference for ease and convenience also lay behind the large number of projects which used the GATB routinely, even where there was no question of referral to MDTA training. The likely reason is that ES administered the GATB, thus taking the burden off the projects' shoulders. This interpretation received added weight when one noted that many of the projects which used the GATB claimed that it is neither useful nor desirable for the population served.

One project listed a fair number of tests, but in fact seldom used any but the GATB. To prefigure a later section of this report, there is much reason for thinking that the use of tests for assessment purposes received the least adequate attention from the E&D projects. It was the area in which they were least likely to honor their contract commitments. There was little interest in testing expressed in project reports, and a good deal of opposition to testing in principle as well as in practice among project staffs.

TRAINEE RESPONSE

Some typical experiences mentioned in project reports follow:

—Many trainees refused to finish the test battery.

—Testing during intake interfered with the establishment of rapport in the group counseling.

—Of 136 trainees scheduled for testing, only 85 showed up, according to an Urban League project in Cleveland, Ohio.

—There was a large "no-show" rate for the regularly scheduled GATB testing on the week following intake at the Youth Opportunities Board (YOB I), Los Angeles, Calif.

—Of 148 scheduled for the GATB, 58 showed up at YOB II, also in the Greater Los Angeles area.

—Most of those scheduled for testing on the regular testing day failed to show up at Neighborhood House, Inc. (NH), North Richmond, Calif.

—A great number of youth dropped out of the program during the intake phase, which included extensive psychological evaluation and a psychiatric interview, and in a followup study, some trainees described the depth interviews as insulting, silly, irrelevant, or offensive and intrusive at the Citizens Committee on Youth (CCY), Cincinnati, Ohio.

—The youth resisted going to vocational rehabilitation for testing, because they did not define themselves as sick or requiring rehabilitation at the Syracuse Skills Center (SSC) Syracuse, N.Y.

It is clear from the above experiences that many projects found their youth to resist and reject testing during the intake phase. One can speculate on the effects of such resistance on the relationship between the youth and the project: clinical experience suggests that a youth who "skips" his appointed testing is likely to feel somewhat guilty or embarrassed, even if the project accepted his failure to be tested. He also will have found himself accomplishing the first step of a disengagement or withdrawal from the program. The feeling of estrangement from the project may leave him less likely to become involved personally in the project's programs. Thus those who actually do not drop out during intake testing are likely to drop out psychologically, to some extent, in response to their own failure to take the tests.

One project, Job Opportunities through Better Skills (JOBS), Chicago, Ill.,[1] reported no negative response to testing during the first week of the youth's participation. However, some JOBS workers reported in interview that although few youth walked out of the initial testing, the characteristic approach to the tests was lackadaisical, uninvolved, uninterested, and lacking in seriousness.

If youth may be described as generally rejective of testing during intake, other experiences reported in project documents may help mitigate this gloomy picture:

—One project reported that its youth accepted testing after just one or two talks with the counselors about the tests and what the scores would mean and be used for (Springfield Goodwill).

—Another project indicated that although it was difficult to obtain information from its youth during intake interviewing because of defensiveness and a noncommittal style (playing it cool), it could elicit the information wanted after the youth had been accepted into the program and had worked in it for a while. This occurred at the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS), Philadelphia, Pa.

—The SSC reported that its youth accepted and welcomed tests after they had been in the training program a few weeks because they wanted to know their own strengths and weaknesses.

—The CCY project reported that, after the purpose had been explained, there was "unprecedented acceptance" of testing by youth who usually resisted it.

—Other programs did not report on the question of acceptance or resistance to testing, but it seemed likely that in some (e.g., PAL and Community Progress, Inc. (CPI), New Haven, Conn.) acceptance was achieved by making the decision to test and take tests a joint one between the counselor and the youth. In such cases, client resistance to testing did not become manifest because the client participated in the decisionmaking process.

It seems clear from the foregoing that disadvantaged youth are generally resistant to testing, and that this resistance manifests itself through refusals, dropping out, lack of serious trying on the tests, and simple failure to show up at testing sessions. In disliking tests, such youth are probably not very different from middle-class youth usually seen in vocational guidance agencies. Nor are disadvantaged youth more lacking in curiosity about themselves. If there is a difference between the classes, it probably lies in the disadvantaged youth's suspicions and fears about what the tests will say about him and how they will be used, and in the absence of the polite passivity which characterizes middle-class clients when they are vis-a-vis demands for achievement and scholastic performance such as those called for by tests. Thus lower class youth express their dislike and distrust of tests more directly.

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[1] JOBS, the Chicago E&D project, is not to be confused with the national JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector) Program started in 1968.

Despite this initial distrust, some of the experiences cited above indicate that disadvantaged youth do accept testing after they have been in a program for a while. Perhaps the difference lies in a suitable introduction to the testing . . . in a strong enough relationship between the youth and the agency for the youth to feel less threatened and defensive about revealing himself . . . in the development in the youth of enough feelings of self-confidence and acceptance to enable him to tolerate the threat which tests suggest. It simply may be a matter of trust in the project, or commitment to participating in it.

CLIENT PREPARATION

Agencies varied greatly in the extent to which youth were prepared for testing and in the timing of the testing in the total program. Some agencies did testing during intake, and encountered resistance and difficulty. On the other hand, counselors at CPI referred youth to testing when the youth and the counselor agreed that the youth was ready to take tests. Obviously, discussion between counselor and client of readiness for testing is likely to include discussion of the nature of the tests, and how they are to be used, thus contributing to their understanding and acceptance. Similarly, YOB II reports that its clients resisted testing if the counselor did not wait until the youth was "ready" for testing before making a referral. Unfortunately, YOB II does not indicate how readiness was determined, or who determined it.

Other projects which delayed testing until after intake include SSC, which found that youth who had resisted going to a vocational rehabilitation bureau for testing during intake became interested and desirous of testing within the skills center as a means for self-assessment after they had been in the program for some weeks. The Detroit Mayor's Youth Employment Program does not report any difficulties in getting the youth to take tests; in that program (which had a relatively high level of youth, 85 percent being high school graduates), testing was done during the course of a 2- to 3-week orientation period conducted largely through group counseling. Springfield Goodwill also had an extensive introductory period, devoting the first 3 weeks to assessment. They reported good acceptance of testing after one or two talks with the counselor who explained the nature and purpose of testing, and reassured the client. PAL presented reasons for testing and appraisal, and the nature of testing, along with other counseling-guidance material, in two 1 and a half-hour group counseling sessions as part of its intake. Its youth then were free to select the parts of the program they wished, presumably including or excluding testing.

It thus seemed that there is some experience indicating that testing can be delayed until a youth has participated in the agency's program for some period of time, and then the testing seems more meaningful and acceptable to the youth.

Some projects reported that their youth accepted testing even during initial intake, if the testing were introduced briefly, thus suggesting that a longer period of participation in the program is not required to achieve acceptance. CCY, for example, informed its youth that the tests are not used against them, but are used only in the formation of vocational interests and goals.

Such reports suggested that when assessment was delayed until the trainee was familiar with and involved in the program, it was well accepted, and that tests may be accepted even in initial contacts with the agency if they are introduced adequately and honestly as being for the trainee's benefit.

USE OF TESTS AND RESULTS

The achievement of acceptance of testing by disadvantaged youth is only one element in designing an assessment program. Far more important is the question of to what end the tests are to be used. Yet it is on this question that project reports were most sketchy.

Counseling and Treatment

One project reported that tests were given to applicants on the basis of staff recommendations that more information be obtained regarding their status and needs before final acceptance into the program. Yet this project does not seem to have rejected any applicants, although many were admitted on probation only, pending remedial work where indicated. Presumably, the tests were used to guide the staff in designing individualized rehabilitation programs. Presumably also, the results of the testing were used in counseling the client.

In Action for Boston Community Development, Inc. (ABCD), counselors also determined when tests were needed or desirable. This determination was made during the course of counseling. It thus seems likely that test scores entered directly into the content of the counseling. CPI was quite clear in its use of testing as a counseling resource decided by the counselor. The results of testing were also used by CPI in determining training or job placements. In this connection it is worth noting that CPI made a special arrangement with the Connecticut ES which permitted a modification of GATB score standards, allowing more disadvantaged youth to qualify for MDTA training. CPI also had permission to overrule GATB scores in selected cases where there was strong non-test evidence of ability to profit from training.

One probable reason for a general lack of counseling use of test scores was the emphasis in most projects on group counseling procedures, almost to the exclusion of individual counseling. Although it can be done, most group counseling avoids dealing within the group with the test scores of the group members. The only project which reported group use of test scores was Action Housing, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa., in which they were presented as a self-confrontation device which all members of the group discussed. Thus those programs which used test scores in counseling tended to be the few programs which relied primarily on individual counseling rather than group methods.

Test scores as part of elaborate psychiatric and psychological appraisals were also used as guides to treatment by two projects; in both, the emphasis was on personality diagnosis rather than specific vocational needs, talents, and disabilities. Both projects used their assessments as the basis for planning casework interventions, with personality and psychopathological factors far outweighing the purely vocational. Indeed, the report of one of the two makes the incredible remark that work and job placement must not be allowed to interfere with the individual client's self-development, thus neatly turning the tables on the orientation of most of the E&D projects, which more generally took the stance that personal problems should not be allowed to stand in the way of work and job placement. This latter orientation went along with a tendency to see personal problems as at least partially a result of joblessness and its attendant characteristics; on the contrary, the project referred to above took the position that joblessness was a pathological symptom of underlying personality problems.

In sum, tests were used primarily for counseling in only four or five projects; and in most of these, the decision to test was based more on the counselor's need for information than on clients' stated needs.

Admission to the Project

Three projects actually used test scores in determining admission to their training services. These were the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) project of New York City, which had only two skill training courses, and so necessarily had to reject applicants without the necessary aptitudes; Action for Appalachian Youth (AAY), Charleston, W. Va., which rejected applicants of very low intelligence before the project discarded the psychiatric orientation which had prevailed initially; and a midwestern sheltered workshop. The last also rejected applicants of low intelligence, as if this in itself were not sufficient disadvantagement. The Philadelphia JEVS, with a program very similar to the midwestern sheltered workshop, found that many trainees testing at well below average intelligence performed at acceptable standards in its workshop, and an AAY project, Kanawha County Employment of Youth (KEY), later found that it could offer its services to many of those who had been initially rejected for too low intelligence.

In general, where projects are organized to provide a multiplicity of services, depending on client needs, there is little need for selection testing. Most projects developed services to meet the needs of their youth, rather than select only those youth who needed or could use the services the projects already had. It is in this sense that the projects were youth-oriented, rather than tied to particular service elements. This stance encountered serious difficulty in one major respect; many projects reported that they could find nothing effective to do with younger clients (below 18 years). However, this problem is not one that could have been cured by selection testing. Thus it appeared as if there were little justification or need for the use of tests as criteria of admission to projects and their services, except where project offerings were severely restricted.

Assignment to Training

If the initial intake testing done by most projects was not for selection purposes, and seldom for counseling and treatment purposes, it was much more frequently used as a basis for assigning youth to project services, particularly training. However, it was reported that many MDTA classes were run on a quota-filling basis and that under such circumstances, test scores were often jettisoned and some ludicrous training assignments resulted.

The report by Neighborhood House was most explicit in this regard. It noted that theoretically, assignment to higher skill training was to be based on factors such as motivation, age, willingness to prepare for and take tests, test results, freedom from personal problems, social maturity, performance in work experience stations, and ability to work in groups without disruptive behavior. But in fact, all such criteria, including test scores, were overridden by the simple question of whether there was a training slot available of any kind at all.

A similar process occurred at the other end of the country; in a major eastern city the ES screened girls for a course in secretarial work, but since the course was the only stipend-paying training available to the unemployed girls, the girls took referral to the course regardless of interest or skill, and since the Service needed to fill the class, it sent girls regardless of test scores. Needless to say, many of the girls dropped out of training.

Out of 13 projects which sought to use tests as a basis for assignment to training, this was done meaningfully and without extensive difficulty by only two—CPI and PAL—as far as can be ascertained from the project reports. This state of affairs cannot be blamed entirely on the projects. Many would have preferred using their tests more effectively but for various reasons beyond their control could not do so.

In some cases, tests were used for assignment to training programs which were so irrelevant to occupations that, in effect, the testing was nonfunctional. In the absence of adequate training programs to which youth can be referred on other than a quota-filling basis, there is no point to selective placement testing. It is this consideration which reflects badly on the "open door" admission policy, when resources for doing anything with the admitted youth are too limited.

Selective Placement

Tests were given to serve as guides to job placement by most of the projects. However, as far as one can tell from the project documents, the situation was the same as that for training. The shortage of job openings of any kind, the preponderance of work opportunities in low level, unskilled, deadend jobs, and the almost uniform insistence by the youth that they be referred to jobs as soon as possible, made selective placement impossible for all the projects that tried it with the exception, perhaps, of PAL, and of course YMCA, which was able to place selectively because it trained selectively.

It is in relation to this issue that the fundamental assumption of the E&D projects, that employability can be changed by changing youth, falls down dramatically and tragically. In the absence of adequate job opportunities (and in the absence of any particularly novel or ambitious attempts at job development by the E&D projects in general), there is no possibility for experimenting with or demonstrating the use of tests for the selective placement of disadvantaged youth. The one project which did consistently make good jobs available to its youth (YMCA) did not do placement testing, using instead the youth performances in the training program as a guide to placement. The practical lesson to be learned from this is that a project must be adequate on all fronts if any part of it is to function effectively as a test or demonstration of techniques. One can only marvel at the rigidity of project personnel who continued to administer aptitude and ability tests despite their own awareness of how little they influenced assignment to training and how little the jobs available placed any premium on skills and ability.

Two other uses of tests in E&D projects ought to be mentioned. The first was related to their use in making selective placements on estimates of client "readiness." The San Francisco Committee on Youth (Hunter's Point project), San Francisco, Calif., used tests in this manner, as did KEY and YOB I. In general, this meant that if, on intake testing, the client showed clear interests and some well defined aptitude, he would be referred directly to placement rather than to counseling or training. However, there is some reason for thinking that these bases for referring to placement were unrealistic in some job markets, where as far as the employer was concerned, a strong back was the essential requirement for the temporary jobs he had available. This seemed to have been more true for Hunter's Point and YOB I than for KEY, probably reflecting differences in geography rather than differences in project effectiveness.

An anecdote related in the NH report illustrates the problem. The project referred three boys to a temporary manual labor job (shoveling earth), because of the need of the boys for work, and their readiness, as the project judged readiness. Unfortunately, the boys "leaked" the news to some friends who were also in the project and who were, presumably, not yet "job ready." The friends stole the march on the referred boys, showing up at the work site and representing themselves as the referred boys. They got the jobs and started doing the work, apparently acceptably enough, when the first three boys showed up, putting the employer in a quandary. Aside from the obvious implications regarding the so-called lack of motivation of disadvantaged youth, the anecdote illustrates the irrelevance of the concept of job readiness where the only jobs available are of the kind described.

The second, more innovative use of tests was their employment as vehicles for stimulating basic education, as part of training in becoming test wise. This use, engaged in by seven projects, has significant potential, and therefore will be dealt with in a later section of this report devoted to training in passing employment tests.

Test Misuses

The testing specialist at one project refused to send test scores of trainees to agencies to which the youth were referred for various services, in an effort to guarantee privacy. Unfortunately, the net effort was to require the youth to take the tests all over again at the receiving agency, and to block communication, so that there was little possibility for integrating project services with those of other agencies in the community.

A similar problem in communication occurred in a southern residential counseling program, though not in connection with test scores. It was reported that the assessments made by the residential staff were usually rejected by MDTA and ES counselors dealing with the same youth, if their assessments differed, and that this lack of communication was a product of professional disdain for the residential staff's qualifications.

At the other extreme, there are suggestions in some reports, notably of those agencies which used very clinical kinds of assessment procedures, that diagnoses and assessments may have been circulated too freely to potential employers and other agencies, resulting in a loss of privacy which may have further disadvantaged some job seekers. It was noted, in one report, for example, that there were some who felt that having an ES representative at the project and familiar with all the "dirty details" of the youth's life could operate against the youth in that the ES representative might then have more knowledge of the project youth than he did of nonproject youth. The nonproject youth, in the absence of other information, were presumed to be capable of handling a placement, and so were given job referrals, while the project youth were treated as not job ready, and when considered job ready, were treated with caution. Thus the net effect on the youth of being in a project is to have reduced rather than enhanced chances for placement. This possibility is certainly not disconfirmed by project placement figures, in which it seems as if project dropouts were able to obtain jobs on their own at a rate not significantly lower than that achieved by the projects for the nondropouts. And a reading of many project reports suggests that the youth served did have a double hurdle of having to convince their counselors, and then also the placement officers that they were ready to work, before they were tried out on a job.

Conclusions

Only a handful of projects collected data to monitor their own processes. That observation fairly well sums up project use of test results. Tests were given, almost ritualistically, but they were seldom actually used for determining admission to the project programs, for counseling, for assignment to training, or for referral to placements. The results of assessment were not communicated effectively to other agencies when appropriate, or to prospective employers when they might have facilitated placement (so as not to make the youth dependent on the agency) and, on the contrary, may have been communicated too freely when they should not have been.

Finally, test results revealing some real potentials in the youth were noted but not acted upon. The overall impression is that tests were given, the scores recorded in dossiers out of habit and perhaps to satisfy the curiosity of counselors, and there their utility ended. It should be noted also that no project made any effort to revise the admittedly ancient norms established for most of the tests listed as being used, by reference to the scores obtained by youth today.

This generally gloomy picture should not obscure the many occasions on which projects have been able to place some individuals in good jobs on the bases of test-revealed talents which had heretofore gone undiscovered. However, even in this respect it was the author's impression that the talents were more likely to be discovered from other sources such as work tryouts and work sample testing.

TEST-RETEST USES

If tests have not been effectively used in assessing the youth served, they have found some utility in program assessment through the use of test-retest designs in which the youth are tested at the beginning of the program or some phase of it, and then at the conclusion of the program to measure gains made. By inference, the quality and effectiveness of the program which had been designed to produce such gains are therefore tested.

The most common use of such designs was in reference to the effectiveness of basic education or remedial programs concerned with reading and arithmetic, probably because initial and final measures of reading and arithmetic levels are so easy to obtain, providing clear criteria. Six projects tested their programs in these areas by giving objective tests to the youth before and after the program: JOBS, Mobilization for Youth (MFY), New York City, YMCA, CCY, Lorton Youth Correctional Center, Lorton, Va., and Draper Correctional Center, Elmore, Ala. All but one report gains of at least 1 year in achievement levels, with another one making a reference to a 2-year gain in one place in its reports, and to a lack of gain elsewhere. The only data reported documents the latter rather than the former claim. In general, the gains reported by the projects are the results of widely different kinds of basic education processes and programs, spanning widely different time periods.

The Detroit Mayor's program reports that performance on employment tests was measurably increased after training in test taking, but no data are offered in support of the statement. Presumably the statement refers to a special training program which sought to train youth to take and pass the employment test (mostly arithmetic) used by one of the large steel companies in the city. Before the 4 months of training, most of the testtakers failed the test, doing considerably poorer than the average high school graduate (although the Detroit program's youth were almost all high school graduates themselves). At the end of the program, almost all those who took the test passed, far exceeding the performance level of the average high school graduate. It was not clear from the report whether the test was taken by the same boys who had failed it initially, or a different group, and if so, whether the retest was the same form or an alternate form of the test that had been failed initially. Thus in the absence of a control group one cannot tell whether these results are a testimony to the training or to the effects of having some familiarity with the test.

Both MFY and ABCD reported much larger gains in reading made by Puerto Rican Spanish-speaking trainees in special classes or training groups than for other trainees.

The Draper report pointed out that its youth seemed to have "faked bad" on the initial testing in order to demonstrate their need for the program, casting doubt on the validity of the gains it reports.

The most startling change in scores was that in which a 13-point IQ jump was observed over the period of 1 month in a midwestern city project. This is an almost impossible real change, and when one noted that this same project did its initial testing during intake, and with relatively little test preparation, the conclusion seemed more likely that the change in scores represented a change in the subjects' approaches to the test rather than a real increase in mastery of knowledge.

The general conclusion from the test-retest studies was that project youth may make modest gains of up to 1 year in reading and arithmetic achievement after basic education, but it was not yet clear that the gains were the result of training or of other factors such as increased motivation, or a dropping away of the "playing it cool" defensiveness on tests. It was also not clear whether this greater striving on tests was generalizable to testing outside of the project. The results were clearer that special programs for Spanish-speaking youth produced positive improvement in scores.

TEST FINDINGS

This section will present only those data which have been derived from psychological assessment and presented in project reports. These results present a remarkably uniform picture:

—Of the youth tested, 88 percent were below the national average in learning ability, verbal, and numerical aptitudes on the GATB (YOB I).

—The median IQ on the WAIS was 90, though it varied somewhat from one corps of trainees to another (YMCA).

—Ten percent of the youth were classed as mentally defective on the WAIS, 10 percent as borderline defective, 30 percent as low average, 45 percent as average, and only 3 percent as above average (KEY).

—Twenty-five percent were in the average IQ range, and no one was above average (VAS-Altro).

—The IQ range on the WAIS was from 90 to 115, largely correlated with reading level. Since reading level tended to be low, so was the average IQ (YOB II).

—The youth were well within the average range on the WAIS (in a program that screened out youth achieving low scores) and in the low average range on the GATB (Kansas City, Mo. JEVS).

—The average score on the Wonderlic Personnel Test was about 11 correct items (JOBS); in Detroit's program, in which 85 percent of the youth were high school graduates, the average score was 14.

The picture is clear; across the Nation, the youth served by the E&D projects tended to score at the low end of the normal range, or a little below, on standard tests of mental ability. Many scored at average on the individually administered WAIS, but the skewing of the curve at the low end reduced the average scores of the groups to below average. Obviously, the projects are dealing with disadvantaged youth.

Outside the area of intelligence, reports of test results are few and far between. One project describes performance on the Draw-A-Person test as one in which females are portrayed as taller, stronger, healthier, and more dominant than males. The males are presented by the youth as passive, small, blind, and appearing desiccated. This description neatly conforms to the current view of the character structure of disadvantaged youth. What is not clear, in the absence of a controlled study, is whether the interpretation of the figures drawn by the youth described the figures themselves or described the psychologist's tendency to see such characteristics in the drawings which he knows come from disadvantaged youth. The same psychologist reports that in their Thematic Apperception Test stories, the boys reveal a concern with love or the lack of it.

—Seventy-one percent of the youth were diagnosed as "inadequate personalities" in the Philadelphia JEVS project.

—A total of 80 percent had serious emotional problems the VAS-Altro project reported.

—And 40 percent were recommended for psychiatric evaluation on the basis of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory at the Des Moines, Iowa, Council of Social Agency's project.

There were few significant differences between the trainees and a sample of affluent middle-class youth in the problem areas they reported as concerns on the Mooney Problem Check List (MPCL). Those differences which were found showed the project youth more concerned about lack of money and need for economic security than the middle-class youth, understandably enough, the Community Action for Detroit Youth (CADY), Detroit, Mich. reported.

The psychiatric picture was of "nonmalignant hostility, antisocial tendencies without the accompanying feelings of guilt, inability to postpone immediate gratifications of needs and confusion in the area of sexual identity," the VAS-Altro project noted.

The impression given by these reports—totally unsupported by the MPCL study cited—was that the overwhelming majority of the disadvantaged youth served were seriously emotionally ill. This writer does not agree with these interpretations, and noted that most of the above psychiatric determinations were not made by qualified psychiatrists. They more likely seemed to represent a way of defining the kinds of adaptations to the conditions of their lives made by disadvantaged youth as psychiatric conditions in the youth rather than as quite normal adaptations to a different kind of society and world than that inhabited by the middle class. It is the classic error of defining as pathology any deviations from the standards of the middle class. This is not to say that disadvantaged youth do not exhibit behavior patterns different from those of middle class youth, and perhaps dysfunctional in middle-class society. They are not evidence of internal psychiatric illnesses. The above listed psychiatric "charges" are the products of applying an inappropriate frame of reference to the problems of disadvantaged youth. They also illustrate the old notion that one finds what one looks for; it is not surprising that such high incidences of emotional illness were found in those projects which emphasized extensive clinical diagnosis of personality.

Another assessment finding of note was

that outdoor interests on the Kuder were the lowest of the interest areas in the urban California youth seen at Neighborhood House.

Of a sample of youth tested, 25 percent could not tell time, the Philadelphia JEVS reported. This is a most significant finding, for it may go far to explain the supposed poor time sense of disadvantaged youth. The writer knows of no one who has attempted to treat the problem of lateness to work, considered one of the major obstacles to employability of disadvantaged youth, by teaching the youth to tell time, and by making sure that they have a clock available to wake themselves up in the morning and to measure the amount of time it takes them to get to work, so that they could plan accordingly.

This finding by the Philadelphia JEVS, so startling in its simplicity as a possible explanation for habitual tardiness, suggests another observation, though one not based on objective measurement. It was noted in one project, the Pinellas County Board of Public Instruction, Clearwater, Fla., that its youth often ordered coke and hamburger for dinner in restaurants because in fact the youth knew them to be safe, and simply did not know how to read the menu well enough to order anything else. This observation accords with the writer's own experience, in which he found some rural Negro girls with whom he had gone to dinner incapable of making sense out of a menu which had "specials" described here and there around the page, dinners listed in one place, a la carte dishes elsewhere, and a great deal of confusion as to whether soup, salad, dessert, and milk or coffee were included in the price of a particular dish or not. Thus it suggested that one possible reason for the poor food choices customarily made by disadvantaged youth—a problem to which many projects directed their efforts unsuccessfully through didactic courses and exhortations to eat balanced meals—was that their guided restaurant experience has been too limited for them to learn to use a menu to order anything but the standard coke and hamburger. This is a matter that could be tested empirically; if confirmed, it would suggest an obvious strategy for diet improvement.

In general, it may be concluded that little information concerning the characteristics of disadvantaged youth has emerged from testing programs, beyond the reassuring finding that, although projects were in fact dealing with the disadvantaged, most clients' scores were in the average intelligence range. Aside from this, the total impression is of "slim pickings."

TEST VALIDITY

Among project findings which bear on an estimate of test validity as predictors are the following:

A "substantial number" of youth who were evaluated as borderline or mentally retarded responded to or revealed average competencies in an industrial work setting at the Philadelphia JEVS project.

Some counselees who did poorly on the GATB got scores up to 30 points higher on the Institute for Personality and Ability Testing (IPAT), according to YOB II findings.

Passage of the vocabulary section of the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT), which, like other vocabulary tests, is generally considered the best single predictor of intellectual performance, did not discriminate between those boys who later were able to pass the test and those who failed the test again upon retaking it, reported the National Committee for Children and Youth (NCCY), Washington, D.C.

These "straws in the wind" suggest that scores of mental ability of disadvantaged youth are not stable or reliable predictors of later performance, at least in the kinds of criterion situations with which the E&D projects were concerned. The issue was brought to a clear focus by the Federal Department Stores project reported by the Detroit community program. In that project, 16 disadvantaged Negro young adults who had failed the selection test for salesmen used by the stores were put into a special 5-week training program in sales work, grooming, manners, nutrition and health care, etc., and then employed as sales personnel by Federal despite their low scores. It was found that the trained men came closer to long-term salesmen in volume of sales achieved after 5 weeks of training than did a group of employees who had passed selection tests and who then had 5 weeks of experience on the sales floor without the special training. At the time of the writing of the Detroit report, 14 of the 16 were still employed at Federal.

This experiment is of such great potential importance that it demands replication. Indeed, one means by which the Department of Labor might undertake to loosen irrelevant test standards for employment by large employers is to offer to sponsor the costs of similar experiments in their firms. For it is likely that the most persuasive argument to an employer is one which shows that his employment standards are not only irrelevant, but that they result in the loss of worker effectiveness.

One sees a curious development of logic in connection with the kinds of jobs which projects found available for their youth. In some projects which noted that their youth scored low on tests as well as other assessments, it was therefore concluded that the most suitable jobs for such youth and the only ones they could expect to get were entry-level manual labor or routine factory jobs. Thus their job development staffs emphasized such jobs, and the staff was glad enough to have them available. But when these were the jobs which the youth were offered, and the youth either refused them, quit them, or found them too worthless to bother getting up in the morning for, it was concluded that the youth were not job ready, and this was taken as further evidence that little more than such jobs could possibly be expected for them.

In such circumstances, the tests whose scores led to the initial characterization of the youth as too untalented for worthwhile jobs were quite useless as measures of anything related to job success, since the jobs made available to the youth did not include demands for any particular skills or aptitudes. This kind of development thus produced a self-fulfilling prophecy, in that youth found no reason to be motivated for such jobs, thus confirming the original characterization. Too few projects were able to make good and respectable jobs available to their youth to be able to test the alternative proposition—that rather than the lack of motivation of disadvantaged youth affecting the kinds of jobs they can get, it may be the other way around—that the kinds of jobs which youth find available to them as incentives strongly affect their motivation. Were they good jobs, many of these youth would make the effort. The mistake may be to assume that the availability of a worthwhile incentive would not elicit the motivation. Yet the single greatest failure of the E&D projects was that they sought to produce motivationally-relevant changes in the youth without changing the incentives to which the youth were responding.

CLINICAL ASSESSMENT

Six projects used an essentially clinical approach to assessment, although these varied in their professionalism and elaborateness from the full psychiatric casework treatment employed initially in two projects through the attempt by the Lane County Youth Study Board, Eugene, Ore., to objectify the observational base on which its social workers made their intake judgments, to two projects which paid such scant attention to assessment that the latter was based on nothing more than a single interview by an untrained interviewer.

In the more elaborate clinical assessment programs, such as Springfield Goodwill, there were social work interviews, use of past records from schools and police and other social agencies to which the client was known, psychological testing, home visits and interviews with parents. Springfield Goodwill also included a routine psychiatric interview. In the case of CCY, referrals were made to a psychiatrist when indicated. PAL referred 20 percent of its clients for full clinical psychological evaluation and individual clinical test interpretations of personality and ego functioning.

It is not surprising that those projects using such a clinical approach were those which were largely organized and operated by social service agencies, with staffs made up largely of social workers who simply attempted to transfer wholesale the techniques and procedures of a family service agency to an E&D project. It should not be surprising that in most of these cases, the detailed and expensive clinical assessment contributed little of vocational value or relevance to the youth, and in most agencies, made no difference in the kind of training given or the kinds of placements arranged.

However, the highly individualized approach of such agencies did result in the provision of supportive services beyond those in most other agencies. Indeed, it seems as if the social workers in the clinical agencies devoted more of their attention to medical, dental, and family problems than they did to more direct vocational matters. To the extent that the youth served thus received such supportive services, one can say that the clinical approach was effective and helpful. It is the writer's judgment that an E&D project should have exemplary staff and resources, so that what it does it does in an exemplary fashion, and has the talent to be able to conceptualize, test, and communicate to others its experiences. However, if the project is to demonstrate anything useful so far as a national manpower program is concerned, the forms of those experiences should be such that once demonstrated, others of less exemplary status and competence may imitate them. Use of scare professional personnel required for clinical assessments makes such assessment programs useless as pilots for a national program.

In any case, the efficacy of the clinical approach as a method for producing behavioral change has not yet been empirically demonstrated, and what evidence there is does not support claims for effectiveness. One report did suggest that the very close and continuing relationship established between the caseworkers and the clients continued far beyond the clients' period of training; while such extensive followup was desirable from a counseling point of view, the project did not seem to have achieved a particularly good record of vocational stability and productivity, and the case studies suggest that in fact a dependency relationship between the caseworkers and the clients was actively fostered by the caseworkers, who took a very maternal stance. Indeed, the writer suspects that those clients who would not tolerate such dependency were the ones who dropped out of the program. Thus one finds the report citing the later courtships, marriages, and childbirths of girls who had once been in the training program—surely matters which are beyond the responsibility or legitimate interest of an employability-development agency.

The Lane County program attempted to objectify its bases for making clinical inferences and so developed a rating check list for use by the intake social worker. The criteria developed to determine whether clients should be referred to prevocational training or directly to vocational counseling were sufficiently close to the behavioral level to be worthy of consideration by other projects which often attempt to make the same determinations but in a less objectified form. A client was referred by the intake worker directly to vocational counseling if: (1) the client was able to communicate thoughts to the intake worker; (2) he showed evidence of having future goals; (3) he showed evidence of having made some plans or efforts to implement his goals; (4) he was neat and clean in his appearance; (5) he appeared to be self-confident and independent; (6) there had been past attempts to work. Clients were referred to prevocational training if they displayed the following behavior: (1) hesitations in answering questions; (2) monosyllabic answers; (3) giving no answers or information about himself; (4) having no job information; (5) having no vocational plans, or very unrealistic plans; (6) having no plans for implementing his vocational goals; (7) poor appearance; (8) little or no work experience; (9) maturity problems (picking nose or teeth during the interview or giggling, etc.).

HOMEMADE TESTS

Twelve projects used project-constructed tests and other measurements to fill specific needs in their operations. Some of those developed may be useful in other settings, despite their lack of standardization and validation; others seemed to offer such promise that the Manpower Administration should sponsor their perfection.

The most promising homemade test is a picture interest test developed by Draper (which was one of the most creative of the E&D projects). Although the test is described only sketchily in the correctional center's report, it apparently consists of pictures of people in various occupational roles. The testtaker indicates his preferences among the pictures. Considering that two projects found the KPR test too far advanced for their disadvantaged youth, particularly ones with serious reading problems, there is an apparent need for a nonverbal vocational interest test; the Manpower Administration would be well advised to underwrite the costs of research on the instrument.

Several projects used homemade reading and arithmetic tests, usually given at intake, to provide a rapid estimate of need for basic education (Neighborhood House, Kansas City JEVS, KEY). NH felt that its test provided a starting point that made involvement in counseling sessions easier, as it gave the youth something to talk about, deal with, and make plans for. Kansas City JEVS had its youth read a section from a newspaper as its reading test. KEY constructed an informal arithmetic test; they then compared the youth's performance on the test with the kinds of mathematics required for successful performance of the occupation for which the youth was being trained. They were thus able to make basic education specific to the youth's occupational needs.

In sum, most of the tests developed by the projects were of a very practical nature; few were likely to be useful outside the projects, although the number of projects using informal estimates of reading and arithmetic skills suggested a need for some rapid short-form tests in the area. JOBS also reported a need for a brief personality test which would alert staff to needs for referrals to psychotherapy.

The picture vocational interest test, the mathematics test geared for comparison of achievement with needs of several occupations, and possibly the behavioral checklist of the Lane County project and the followup rating scale of the Draper project might deserve further development and testing.

WORK-EXPERIENCE RATINGS

Many projects employed work-experience stations for their youth, either within house, as in work crews, or by farming youth out to work stations in public agencies, or in regular on-the-job training (OJT). However, no project report reproduced any particular form for supervisory evaluation of the youth's performances in work-experience stations. In most cases, the E&D projects seemed to have relied on an assumed experience and competence in providing professional supervision in the work-crew supervisors, or in the heads of the work stations to which the youth were assigned; in most cases, this assumption broke down. Thus many project reports mention dissatisfaction with the kinds of supervision the youth received in out-of-house placements. The YMCA program attempted to solve this problem by having its counselors interview each supervisor at least once a week, but this turned out to be a huge drain on the counselors' time. MFY found that supervision of OJT seemed to be better in large firms which had experience in supervising and evaluating apprentices as part of their normal operations, whereas the small employers were too informal and inexperienced. Some projects reported that the office supervisors in the public agencies which provided work experience for their youth generally ignored the youth, did not know what to do with them, except to send them on little errands, and thus failed to provide the youth with enough actual and varied work experiences to be able to make any kind of reasonable assessments of skills, style, competence, or interest. And of course, it hardly need be pointed out that the only thing the youth learned in such an office is to not work—rather the opposite of the program's intentions.

Some work-experience stations involved such low-level routine tasks that they did not lend themselves to any detailed evaluation of the youth's skills, interests, or needs. This was the case with several work crews which were essentially manual labor forces.

When the work station is limited in the range of activities on which observations can be made, the tendency is to deal with generalized work attitudes and other abstract aspects of the worker role, such as response to supervision, which may be separated from the particular tasks in which they are manifested.

However, this raises a further problem. It is generally assumed that such worker role characteristics (punctuality, attendance, work tolerance, cooperativeness, etc.) are generalized as traits, regardless of the kind of work. But this assumption is highly questionable.

One could make an equally good case for the hypothesis that a youth's punctuality, attendance, work habits, and work tolerance will be related to the interest and gratification he gets out of the particular work he is doing, and thus would be expected to vary from job to job, perhaps even from supervisor to supervisor. This is a crucial matter, for it could throw into doubt many of the programs operating on the assumption that playing the role of a worker can be abstracted from the kind of work being done and trained for regardless of the kinds of jobs offered to the youth. The writer suspects that the assumption of generalized work traits is particularly false for disadvantaged youth, compared to more internalizing middle-class youth, which may be why those projects which were able to hold up desirable jobs as goals to their youth (YMCA, as an outstanding example) had relatively little anxiety over teaching their youth how to play work roles and the other paraphernalia of "prevocational training."

Three comments from project reports also suggest this position: The Pinellas County program reports that its youth often behaved quite differently toward the residential staff members than they did toward their MDTA instructors or work supervisors, sometimes looking like entirely different kinds of boys and girls to the different professionals who saw them in different contexts. And one JOBS staff member wrote that "some can be great employees and lousy trainees, and vice versa." Finally, the Philadelphia JEVS noted that when the work try-out period was ended and the youth were put on industrial tasks with salaries, their work output and motivation increased greatly, indicating that their youth were quite sensitive to local incentive conditions.

The St. Louis JEVS used extensive supervisory evaluations in its sheltered workshop. This program had the added distinction of being the only one that sought to establish some validity for these ratings, finding that ratings of motivation, flexibility, or work habits did not correlate with whether or not a trainee was classified as successful (i.e., graduated from the program). However, supervisors' ratings of cooperativeness did have a barely significant relationship to success, though apparently not to job placement.

CPI, ABCD, JOBS, NH, YMCA, and SSC did not report any extensive or formal use of their work-experience settings for providing assessments. They were more training oriented in their use of work experience, and assessment seems to have been at an informal level.

Probably the worst situation of all was that of a project in Appalachia, in which strained relationships between the project and MDTA personnel resulted in the refusal of the MDTA staff to provide the project with any assessments of trainee progress or even an estimate of the trainees' likely completion date, thus effectively leaving the project in the dark and hurting the youth themselves.

In summary, assessment of work experience performance was generally not satisfactory in the E&D projects, except in some of the sheltered workshop settings. The problems seemed to be the following: Lack of ability to construct adequate assessments by untrained and out-of-house supervisors, too restricted range of work experience to provide enough data for assessment, lack of any demonstrated reliability or validity in the formal rating procedures used, and failure to use formal ratings or assessments by most projects (only three or four of more than 16 projects which had work experience programs described formal ratings in their reports), and the questionable assumption that performance in a work experience station is generalizable to performance on other kinds of jobs, in other settings, under other incentive conditions, and with different supervisors. Finally, where projects did not adequately train supervisors, or provide them with guidance and direction, where they had no administrative control over the supervisors, or where the supervisors worked in settings having very different orientations and goals from the E&D project, there was little useful assessment of the trainees.

The assumption of generalized work habits in disadvantaged youth underlies much programing in E&D projects, and yet is highly questionable. But it is an assumption that can be empirically tested in psychological research in a variety of not very complicated experimental designs. It is thus strongly recommended that the Manpower Administration sponsor such experiments as crucial to an evaluation of the validity and utility of work-role training and assessment, whether it be through assignment to work crews, through group counseling, through prevocational training instruction, or through assignment to work-experience stations. Despite the questionable status of the assumption, some projects were able to develop work experiences of sufficient variety and complexity to permit at least meaningful description and assessment of the youth's performances, even if the descriptions and assessments may not be generalizable to other work sites.

The major ingredient in the projects which were relatively well developed in this regard was that the work stations were in-house, and supervised by trained staff (YMCA, Springfield Goodwill, SSC, and the JEVS projects). At the Springfield project, supervisors made daily reports on each youth, using ratings in specific areas: Attitudes toward work; output; ability to respond to pressures for more output, effort, or better work; concept of self as a worker; attendance; conformity to work rules; skills; and personal behavior. No doubt the sheltered workshop experience of the project provided it with sufficient background to carry this off. However, sheltered workshop experience alone is apparently not sufficient. Apparently, supervisory staff and foremen must also be trained specifically for working with disadvantaged youth and must receive professional support and consultations. Where this was not done there was considerably more difficulty in getting good evaluations from supervisors.

WORK SAMPLES

In the context of a general failure to use psychological and vocational testing productively with disadvantaged youth, or to deal with any sophistication with some of the issues of assessment, it becomes a pleasure to describe what is clearly the outstanding innovation in assessment developed by the E&D program. In a sense, work sample testing is a close ally of assessment of work experience, except that in work sample testing, the work tasks are specifically designed for assessment purposes rather than for teaching or skill training purposes. It is thus understandable that, like work experience programs, work sample testing seems to have been done most often by vocational rehabilitation agencies with sheltered workshop experience.

Ten programs used work sample techniques in one way or another, although they varied widely in the elaborateness of their development from simply trying out Spanish-speaking youth on a number of workroom tasks as a substitute for aptitude and interest tests (VAS-Altro) to the highly formalized methods of MFY and Philadelphia JEVS.

MFY had tried to use its work-experience stations as work samples, by rotating youth through the various work stations before making an assignment to skill training. However, MFY found that this was not a satisfactory arrangement, probably because the youth did not see their rotations as an opportunity for self-assessment, but rather saw the work stations as jobs or as training per se. Thus they did not like being rotated to the next work station before they felt they had acquired any competency in the skills demanded by the one that they were on. They found it discouraging to be pulled out of each work station before they had developed any mastery of the work. It was this situation which led MFY to develop a regular vocational evaluation center built around work sample testing.

Four projects made major applications of work sample techniques, and developed them to a relatively high level. These were Springfield Goodwill, St. Louis JEVS, MFY, and Philadelphia JEVS. The last two represent the highest development of the technology among the E&D projects, consisting of the major innovations in assessment which emerged from the program.

The MFY work sample procedures are

adaptations of the well-known Tower system developed for use with handicapped persons. In the MFY program, counselors referred youth to the vocational evaluation center for a 2-week period. During the first week, the youth tried a number of work samples; during the second week he was given a chance for more extended practice on those samples on which he showed promise, permitting him to improve his performance. At the end of the second week, a complete report and evaluation, including a recommendation for skill training, was forwarded to the youth's counselor. MFY reported that the recommendation of the center was followed in almost all of the cases, though it is not binding on the counselor or youth. They find that 87 percent of those placed in the recommended training completed their work successfully; this figure represents impressive success for work sample testing, being much higher than for other trainees who have not had work sample evaluation.

In the MFY system, each work sample was treated as a set of subtests with increasing levels of difficulty and complexity. Each can be scored objectively for time and number of errors. The samples are structured along industrial lines (i.e., the samples are "bits" of occupations. For example, the plumbing sample consisted of pipe measurements and the use of different lengths and shapes of pipes to construct a layout according to a blueprint. The carpentry sample included cutting wood and assembling the pieces to construct an object according to a plan) rather than work representations of psychomotor skills.

While working on the work samples at MFY, a trained and experienced supervisor rated the youth's work habits, work tolerance, ability to accept supervision, ability to complete a task even when frustrated by lack of skill, concentration, punctuality, and attendance.

In the Philadelphia JEVS system, the work samples were graded from the simple to the complex within each series. The basic tasks in each were fairly unitary in the psychomotor skills involved (for example, assembling nuts and bolts of various sizes or sorting washers of various sizes), although there was also some overlap among industrial lines. This feature provides an opportunity for a refinement of measurement which the Philadelphia project has not attempted: It should be possible to have several tasks requiring about the same psychomotor skills, but differing in their industrial applications. Thus there might be three or four which are basically simple finger dexterity and manipulation tasks—one from the needle trades, one from the electrical industry, and one or two from other lines of work. On such a series, a subject's average score on the various tasks would define his level of finger dexterity, while differences among the tasks might indicate the industrial line to which he is best suited. In this way the work sample technique could be broadened to provide a greater range of objective information without violating the essential feature of being a performance measure identical to the performances required in the world of work.

An important feature of the Philadephia JEVS technique was an estimate of the subject's level of performance, so that he could start on the graded series at a level where he could perform well. This feature recognized the importance to disadvantaged youth of having successful experiences in testing.

Like the MFY program, the JEVS technique included practice periods before actual testing. As in MFY, there apparently was little standardization of practice periods or conditions of test administration.

Further standardization and validation must be done if the work sample technique is to be perfected to the point where it can be used by other agencies with comparable and interchangeable results. However, there are several reasons for thinking that, when fully developed, this technique will be extremely valuable:

1. It is nonverbal.
2. It involves performances identical to those required in work. It is a generally supported empirical principle in test construction that the closer the test items are to the criterion in form and content, the more likely that the items will be valid. Thus the identity between test and work criteria promises high validity for the work samples.

3. The obvious relevance of the test to work makes the test appear sensible and therefore acceptable to test-suspicious youth, who are therefore likely to be well-motivated to perform on it.

4. The closeness of the test to actual work performance makes it a comprehensive measure, including within it all the psychological and performance factors which operate on the job. Thus the test is likely to be a better predictor than those tests which isolate some presumably central skill or aptitude (e.g., spatial relations) for testing, leaving other variables of interest, motivation, perception, eye-hand coordination, and transfer to industrial situations as uncontrolled variables.

5. The work sample technique makes such apparent good sense that it should be particularly attractive to employers, thus making it easier to "sell" a youth to a job opening on the basis of objective measures of his ability to perform tasks identical to those required by the job. In this way, the use of work sample testing could do much to erode the nonfunctional and often irrelevant selection testing done by many employers, which too often screen out disadvantaged youth.

6. The obvious relevance of the work samples should help disadvantaged youth make accurate self-assessments of their vocational skills, thus serving as a motivator for training. In contrast, such youth often have difficulty in understanding the relevance of a score on one of the standard paper and pencil tests, because the performance they gave on the test seems to them so far removed from work performances.

7. Finally, the work samples provide youth of limited occupational experience and little knowledge of what is involved in various occupations with a firm reality on which to base their self-assessments of interest, thus also providing their images of occupations and work careers with a concrete base.

These are impressive considerations, and promise much for work sample testing. However, there are many problems of validity, of reliability, and of clarity about whether they measure aptitude or achievement yet to be solved. Until then, its adoption as a standard tool in the technology of vocational guidance and placement would not be justified.

SELF-ASSESSMENT

Although few programs specifically encouraged self-assessment, many included self-assessment activities:

—In a 4-day group counseling program for MDTA trainees, the latter discussed their test scores as a kind of self-confrontation within the group. It was felt that the group members were less likely to permit members to rationalize away or ignore the test findings, and their puncturing of defenses was said to be more acceptable to the youth than had it come from a professional (Action Housing).

—KEY in Appalachia used interest inventories and other questionnaires to stimulate self-appraisal, including a questionnaire of job readiness which the youth filled out for himself, and the staff also filled out for him. The youth then compared his own estimate of his job readiness with the staff's estimates. This process was used after the youth had been in the project for some time and had established a relationship with program personnel.

—The Draper program used a form on which trainees rated themselves in relation to various training areas available in the project, thus stimulating a realistic appraisal of the various alternatives. Before filling out the form, the youth was exposed to each of the training curriculums, and heard talks about career potential, salaries, and working conditions in each.

—Neighborhood House reported that when clients took an informal reading and arithmetic test during intake, they became more involved in counseling. This suggests that the tests stimulated the kind of self-assessment which leads directly to counseling.

—The New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) program had its youth fill out several self-assessment inventories as part of the group guidance program. The youth then discussed their responses to the questionnaires in the groups.

—SSC allowed ineligible applicants to work in the skills center for a week to discover their own interests while they also met daily with job developers and counselors to make placement decisions.

The PAL program, and to some extent also NH, used temporary, short-term, and part-time placements as self-assessment devices for those youth who either overestimated themselves and thus refused to accept counseling and training or saw no value in them, or who wanted to try themselves out on a job to test the validity of their own self-appraisals. By working on a job which is obviously short term, the youth without any job experience finds out what things are really like in the world of work, and thus comes to a more realistic self-appraisal, without being made anxious by the threat of being fired, since he goes into the job with the full expectation that it will be for only a short period. He therefore need not see the job as a career choice requiring any kind of extensive commitment from himself. And of course, he earns money which he usually needs badly. This use of short-term placements may be very effective with the many disadvantaged youth who come to project offices requesting placement immediately, and who perceive the agency's insistence on counseling, training, and basic education before placement as a put-off. However, this use of short-term placement requires that the agency not consider the case closed simply because the youth has been placed; rather, it should see the placement as the start of the counseling program for the youth.

By and large, disadvantaged youth come to employability development agencies with the expectation that they are placement agencies. They come to find jobs, not training or counseling, and they tend to evaluate the agency in terms of the kind of job they were able to get with the agency's help. The agency that insists on counseling and training first is, in effect, disagreeing with the client's implicit self-assessment. How valid is this insistence?

Some empirical evidence comes from the Kansas City JEVS, in which the project sought to place directly those applicants who, on the basis of their self-assessments, asked to skip the work adjustment training. The project report noted that these self-assessments were generally accurate: When these applicants were placed without the agency's work adjustment training, they turned out to be steadier workers than those who took the training.

The point here is that it might be more appropriate for E&D projects to attempt to place those youth who come to the project specifically for jobs directly, perhaps in short-term jobs at first, with the clear understanding that better jobs would be sought for them after they've had some experience, rather than to try to sell the youth on a counseling and training program for which the youth does not feel the need.

HOW TO TAKE TESTS FOR JOBS

A major innovation introduced by several of the E&D projects to the field of vocational guidance and counseling is the training which they provided in taking and passing employment tests. The projects started from the assumption that employment-selection tests are a major barrier to youth employment and, if they were unable to convince employers to relinquish such barriers, they would prepare their youth to surmount them.

Inasmuch as disadvantaged youth tend to have fairly restricted experience in taking employment and similar tests, it is reasoned that their lack of experience leaves them without testtaking skills; thus several agencies administered selection tests to their trainees in order to provide them with the relevant experience in a nonthreatening atmosphere. Beyond simple practice, some agencies did specific training in testtaking skills and others went even further in preparing their youth to take employment tests by bringing the youth to the test site a day or so in advance of the testing to make the youth familiar with the place in which the testing was to be done (NH), or accompanying the youth in small groups to the actual testing session to reduce failure anxiety and stimulate mutually supportive cameraderie (Detroit community action).

Among the projects which gave tutoring and practice in taking employment tests were NH, Detroit, Hunter's Point, SSC, YMCA, and YOB II. In most of these programs, the tutoring was done in small groups or individually by aides or by counselors.

NH found that once interest was aroused, tutoring in test taking must start at once. This is consistent with other evidence which indicates that disadvantaged youth do not sustain motivation in the abstract over long periods of time; rather, their motivation seems to be specific to the circumstances and opportunities. This is also the reason for the stress on rapid intake into project programs once a youth has expressed interest. Thus NH found greatest enthusiasm for test tutoring when an examination date was approaching. Their youth were not likely to take test tutoring just because it might come in handy some day in the vague future.

In its tutoring program, NH placed stress on how to take speed tests, on the assumption that disadvantaged youth have a particularly poor time sense. They also found it necessary to train for specific tests; their report noted that their youth did not readily transfer knowledge from one context to another, so that an arithmetic operation which might have been mastered in a basic education class would be failed when it appeared in a slightly different form on an employment test.

Nevertheless, it appears to the writer as if the test-training program of NH was very effective as a basic education device. Certainly it seemed to have been met by more enthusiasm in the youth than most projects reported for their basic education programs, and unlike the usual basic education program, the interest value and content of test training was excellent, because it was so relevant to getting a job.

Like NH, the Detroit program also included a specific test-training project which sought to prepare youth for an approaching employment test, and to train them specifically in the basic education components which were to be found in the test. Thus they trained boys for 4 months in the arithmetic required to pass a selection test used by a Detroit steel company. This program was highly successful.

However, the Detroit program was considerably less successful in training its youth for civil service exams. Though many passed the tests, the requirement that civil service selection be from the top of the register meant that even though they passed the test, there were many nondisadvantaged with higher scores who were therefore selected to fill the available slots. Thus less than 2 percent of the Detroit project's youth actually obtained civil service jobs. It is this writer's judgment that the civil service system is one of the most rigid and effective barriers to the employment of the disadvantaged, both within Government employment and, by its example to industry, outside it in the public sector as well. The full weight of the Department of Labor would be required, at the highest policy level, to produce even a reasonable modification of this system in the public interest.

EVALUATION OF E&D EXPERIENCE

There was a general failure of the E&D projects to demonstrate any important adaptations of psychological tests for use with disadvantaged youth. Projects used banal tests and engaged in little or no exploration of testing instruments.

There seemed to be a great deal of ambivalence among project personnel concerning testing and assessment. Many started from a basic criticism and rejection of traditional testing as unsuitable for disadvantaged youth, thus sharing and extending a general public suspicion of psychological tests, and not without good reason. Unfortunately, many project personnel seemed more familiar with the rejection and criticism than with the good reasons for it.

Unfamiliar with the details of psychometrics, some project personnel felt that perhaps they could tinker with the testing technology in some simple fashion to come up with some improvements, such as using nonverbal tests as measures of intellectual potential. Others went further, rejecting the testing enterprise altogether.

Those who felt that they could improve the technology soon found themselves in difficulty. Not a single E&D project employed a psychometric researcher of sufficient professional competence to know even where to begin to tinker with the technology, especially in these days of highly elaborated and recondite test theory. The Manpower Administration must share responsibility for this state of affairs, for its apparent agreement that such project personnel could, with a few thousand dollars, effect significant improvement in existing testing theory and practice; the Manpower Administration should have had the professional resources either on its staff or through the use of consultants to be aware of the inner complexities of the problems of test design and validity.

The result of this naive approach was to enhance the positions of those who rejected the testing enterprise in toto, producing internal staff dissension. Agency ambivalence about testing manifested itself in such ways as having a separate staff of testing personnel in whose laps the problem could be dumped, so that other agency personnel could resign from decision-making responsibility; in one agency's refusal to transmit scores to referral agencies; in another's refusal to work with test scores; and in conflict which roiled under the surface.

The result was also that little testing was done, except for the GATB to which almost all agencies objected. And the issue was defined around the question of whether tests in the abstract were any good, rather than around the questions of what tests would be used for in the projects. Thus tests were defended or attacked per se, and when the testers were in ascendance, tests were used per se without much consideration as to their functions in the program for youth. The testing that was done often was nonfunctional and pointless, and rarely was used to provide even rudimentary data with which one might evaluate the use of the tests (e.g., mean scores of project youth compared to scores of other groups; correlations between test scores and placements, etc.).

Agency criticism of tests was therefore blunted, and instead of clear decisions on clear bases, there was inappropriate use of tests.

In this connection, the writer recommends that the Manpower Administration and the projects it supports give up the search for a nonverbal measure of intelligence. There are theoretically sound reasons for thinking that such a test is an impossibility, as a contradiction in terms. Intelligence is clearly seen today as academic aptitude; the essential feature of academic aptitude is verbal facility. It is thus impossible to find a test which predicts academic performance without words or other symbolic operations which function as language. Further, there is little or no need, in E&D projects, for predictions of academic aptitude, and those tests which measure this trait are by and large poor predictors of success in the kinds of unskilled and semi-skilled job performances required by the kinds of jobs available to disadvantaged youth.

The policy decision to support an open rather than a selective enrollment in E&D projects carried with it some implications which soon became apparent; it was necessary to do something with the youth admitted to the programs, or to back them up on long waiting lists. Few projects had any but the most unimaginative and pedestrian job placement programs. The provision of adequate training was hampered so consistently by what only can be called administrative boondoggling that experience with such frustrations could be described as the single most common experience among all projects, and the one element that all shared in common. Almost all were hampered by unconscionable delays in receipt of funds (some so severely that the programs did not catch up with themselves until the contract year just about had expired, resulting in the raising of expectations in youth which were never fulfilled), by the unworkability of the Federal-State relationship in the ES, by the unworkability of the inter-agency cooperation and coordination required under the MDTA legislation, by the absence of any single source of authority or decisionmaking concerning MDTA matters, and by the inability or refusal of State departments of education to conduct training which was suitable for disadvantaged youth. The open admission stance requires agency freedom to design training and other programs to suit the youth who come in. Unfortunately, the stance of MDTA trainers, over whom neither projects nor the ES had any control, is that the training is invariable, so that youth must be selected for it, rather than the training designed for the youth. These two stances cannot be reconciled in a working team with divided authority. The State ES, caught in the middle between State boards of education and the E&D projects, found it to be the safer and wiser course to maintain their good standing with the education authorities than with the time-limited and relatively powerless E&D projects.

The result of the failure of most projects to have adequate training and placement resources, aside from effects on services to youth, was that the agencies were in no position to experiment with or demonstrate the value of assessment techniques. Such techniques, in their nature, are tied to what it is that people are being tested for.

In other areas, the Manpower Administration might consider devoting its resources to the following issues raised in the E&D projects:

The question of the generalizability of assessments of work performance was raised in this report in relation to both work experience assessment and work sample testing. The specific question is whether a disadvantaged youth's behavior in a particular work task is a representative sample of his behavior in other possible kinds of work situations, under different conditions of incentive, work interest, and work skills and supervision. The validity of work experience training, work stations, work crews, and sheltered workshops as bases for assessing employability and as means for teaching generalized aspects of work role performance rests on this question. So also does the validity of training youth to feel comfortable with tests within the project. These questions ought to be subjected to careful and detailed social psychological research. It is therefore recommended that MA consider establishing a laboratory for research on the behavior of disadvantaged youth, in connection with an action program in which the research findings may be translated into programs for demonstration and feasibility testing.

The work sample technique was the major assessment innovation in the E&D program. It has reached a point of development where elaborate experimental and psychometric research is justified to extend the range of the method, standardize procedures, validate the tests, and develop normative data. The final step should be an organized program to offer the results of work sample testing to employers in lieu of their present selection tests. However, the extensive use of work sample testing prior to such research is unjustified. The research required goes beyond the technical competence and resources of E&D projects. It is recommended that MA sponsor the required research, or develop the facilities for conducting the necessary research within itself.

The E&D project in action has demonstrated itself to be unsuitable as a vehicle for either experimenting with or demonstrating new techniques. Its major utility lies in a continuous commitment to serving a population which otherwise gets no service; out of this confrontation with needs can arise fruitful ideas and hypotheses, such as those mentioned in this report, provided that project staff have the time for reflection on their experiences, and the sophistication to conceptualize their activities. However, the ideas and hypotheses developed are of no value until they are empirically tested and validated, for which the E&D project is an inappropriate setting. The Manpower Administation may, therefore, follow one of the following courses:

1. Abandon the decentralized E&D format and undertake a centrally-controlled national program of research on the efficacy of different kinds of recruitment-assessment-counseling-training-placement-followup programs under different job market conditions and with different kinds of youth in order to test whether and under what market conditions particular techniques and approaches through changing the youth are efficacious in affecting employment.

2. Establish its own regional action programs for disadvantaged youth in each of four or five communities across the Nation with a clear mandate to experiment, in the sense of

trying out various techniques, with service secondary. The professional directors of each center should be highly qualified scientists, and should constitute an advisory team to which the director of a separate research laboratory would report. The laboratory, operated either jointly with a university or entirely by the Department of Labor, would be charged with the responsibility for carrying out the basic research required to validate the promising leads supplied by the action programs. In return, the action programs would be responsible for demonstrating through practice the applications of the findings of the laboratory. Insulation of the laboratory from day-to-day vagaries in demands upon their time for special projects which become the temporary "pets" of department officials could be preserved by joint establishment with a university, in which the laboratory director holds academic rank and tenure.

3. Begin a program of contracted research on selected hypotheses derived from E&D projects. This alternative is least likely to be productive, as few of the better researchers are inclined to undertake projects aimed at testing someone else's hypotheses, or hypotheses of little theoretical interest though of great practical concern. The viability of a research granting program depends upon the granting agency having on its staff professional social scientists whose status and knowledge is at least equal to those of the social scientists who apply for grants.

4. Do a cut-and-paste job, seeking authorization to make long-term contract commitments with E&D projects, increase the quality and quantity of the Manpower Administration's administrative staff and professional resources to supervise and consult with projects, play a more active role in project design and in insuring conformity to design, require detailed reporting standards, eliminate Employment Service and State vocational education departments as intermediaries in establishing MDTA programs, revise processing so that trainees will always be paid on time, be more liberal in contract terms to enable projects to hire high quality staffs and to devote resources to research without draining them away from service functions, and broaden its scope of projects to include field experiments in altering hiring patterns of employers and in job creation.

Finally, the Manpower Admistration must face up to the fact that the basic incompatibility between research and service will continue to plague E&D projects so long as it is willing to allow the E&D program to be used to fill the gap caused by the absence of any other national institutional resource concerned with the vocational development and training of disadvantaged youth. As long as E&D projects are operated as subsidized services to the poor, with staff salaries and qualifications set at the market level for public service personnel rather than at the level of research scientists, and as long as they are thus subject to the vagaries of the political winds which affect Government services, their value as experimental and demonstration agencies will be restricted severely.

COUNSELING

The writer knows of no satisfactory definition of counseling. It is an activity which in some of its forms is readily discriminable; however, it may appear in guises which make it difficult to isolate from such other activities as teaching, training, recruitment, recreation, placement, and cultural enrichment. A wide variety of activities may have counseling value. For example, a program on black history may have as its main effect an increase in self-understanding and pride. Or it may make the counseling done by the sponsoring agency more acceptable to its black clients. Similarly, a carefully graded series of training tasks may not only result in increased job skill, but also increased self-confidence growing from success experiences.

The YMCA E&D project used its recreational and cultural enrichment field trips to museums and other places of interest in New York as a way of giving their youth practice and confidence in using the city's transportation system, thus helping to break down the extreme localization to the slum neighborhood which marks many inner-city disadvantaged youth. Such a device is likely to be at least as effective as counseling which explores the client's feelings about taking the subway. To fail to include such a program element in a report on counseling would thus mean missing some of the most interesting innovations in affecting the attitudes, motives, and behaviors of disadvantaged youth.

Some activities with counseling value are performed by members of several different professional groups, and some by people of no professional affiliation or background. Some activities involve clear and conscious attempts to influence or modify behavior through such subtle means as locating the youth center in a particular geographical relationship to the rest of the community, or through the management of financial and other rewards and incentives. Such structural and programmatic devices may not usually be thought of as counseling, but their aims are often the same as those of counseling. Given these problems, the writer has elected to err on the side of over-inclusiveness by reporting on all those aspects of the E&D programs which functioned or were intended to function as means of producing behavioral change, in any realm of behavior, including decisionmaking. However, in order to avoid overlapping completely with the report on training, behavioral change of increased skill per se will be excluded. Even here there will be ambiguities; counseling is often done to increase receptivity to teaching and training, and to the extent that the design and format of the teaching achieves the same goals, to that extent is it a kind of counseling activity.

No effort will be made to restrict coverage to those activities which are traditionally parts of vocational and rehabilitation counseling, or to exclude those activities which are more closely identified with social work, recreation, and other such professions. That is, this report is concerned with counseling as an activity which is engaged in by many people of a variety of professional affiliations; it is not concerned with counseling as a particular professional identity.

Finally, the report will cover activities and program elements which were intended to modify behavior without regard to whether or not these activities and elements are usually or ever defined as counseling techniques. The writer is less concerned with semantics than he is with identifying things that are good to do when working with disadvantaged youth, regardless of what they are called or the professional identification of the person who does them.

The first part of this report on counseling will be largely descriptive, covering the varieties of counseling formats encountered in E&D projects, the various kinds of goals and orientations of counseling in the projects, the kinds of personnel involved, and their specific practices and techniques. From that point on, the report becomes more evaluative, including an attempt to assess the contribution of counseling to the E&D program, to understand its role in projects, to interpret some general problems, to identify some of the techniques which the writer considers most promising, and to suggest ways in which such techniques could be adapted. This report will then conclude with a summary and a set of recommendations regarding counseling practices, the roles of counseling in E&D projects, and some implications for policy-making and the future of the program.

As to counseling formats, one might describe a continuum of programs running from exclusive reliance on individual counseling, through various weights of mixed individual and group work in the middle of the continuum, to exclusive reliance on group counseling at the other end. Most programs were somewhere between the extremes, and some of the large multifaceted projects have features which place them at several different points.

INDIVIDUAL COUNSELING

Only one program had no group activities at all; it was a program in which only two youth were accepted at a time and fitted into an ongoing sheltered workshop (Kansas City JEVS). Obviously, there can be no real group counseling with only two counselees. There were, however, several programs in which all of the formal counseling as such was done individually. In these programs, the youth were also in various kinds of groups, such as work crews, prevocational instruction, trade training, and although these projects did not always define counseling functions for such groups, it is highly likely that counseling did take place.

In some cases, the group leaders, whether teachers, tradesmen, craftsmen, or work supervisors, were selected particularly for their abilities to serve as role models to the youth. For example, the skilled craftsmen who conducted the trade training in the New York City Bedford-Stuyvesant YMCA project were indigenous residents of the area who were given special training in teaching methods and techniques. Such selection policies implicitly assumed that the group's work involves a kind of social influence that goes beyond the particular skills and knowledges being taught. In fact, the YMCA program stressed the interchangeability of roles between the professional counselors and the skilled craftsmen-instructors, with the counselors even serving as shop assistants to the instructors in order to be on hand in the shop to engage in counseling whenever the occasion arose.

An example may illustrate how well informal counseling by work crew leaders can work. A work crew leader (nonprofessional) at CPI noted that the boys in his crew typically spent all their pay and allowances, received on Fridays, by the following Monday. He therefore began the practice of driving his boys downtown in his station wagon immediately after distributing the checks, ostensibly to take the boys to his bank where he could help them get their checks cashed. During the drive he made it a practice to talk in an off hand fashion about how his own savings were mounting, the amount of interest which was accruing to his account, the desirable things that his savings were enabling him to purchase. As he was paid on a semi-monthly basis, he kept part of each check out so that he would have something to deposit each week, in the presence of his crew. Before long, several boys asked him for help in opening savings accounts in the same bank, asked him to explain what interest was and why banks pay it, and began making weekly deposits of their pay and allowances. Gradually it became the norm for his group, to which new boys conformed as they were added. Such a "dividend" from the work group appears to be a good deal more effective than specific counseling and exhortation about budgeting.

Other projects, such as Hunter's Point, depended heavily on individual counseling, but also constructed ad hoc groups for special purposes, usually for just one or a few meetings. In addition to its work crews, NH organized ad hoc groups to study the want ads together. One counselor in the same project called his individual counselees together from time to time to talk to them about topics which had come up in his individual counseling often enough to suggest to him that they might be of general interest. PAL did most of its formal counseling in individual sessions, but its youth were free to join special interest groups, such as remedial reading, occupational interest groups, neighborhood friends' groups, and sometimes a leadership group. YOB had groups of youth primarily organized to plan social, recreational, civic, and cultural enrichment events, such as Negro History Week, or a community art show. MFY used group work only when its youth already were organized into groups for some other function (e.g., several youth taking OJT together in the same business enterprise; girls in the teacher-aide training program). Action Housing organized a group program to introduce the training and prepare its youth for the MDTA course they were to take, but otherwise relied on individual counseling. CPI also used special purpose groups, such as those planning to return to high school. Philadelphia JEVS organized a group of multi-problem trainees who were not responding to individual counseling.

These programs tended to have at least some scheduled activity of an individual counseling nature for all youth in the program, either for intake and/or for planning the youth's program in the project, and/or for dealing with personal problems. Thus every youth was seen individually at least once, while group participation for the youth depended to some extent on chance, individual interest, and the kind of training in which he was placed.

BALANCED PROGRAMS

Moving toward the center of the continuum, one finds many programs in which group and individual counseling were balanced fairly evenly. In these, all youth were assigned to groups which dealt with common problems, or with issues of general applicability, while individual counseling was reserved for planning the youth's program, dealing with particular problems of the youth, and/or obtaining personal information required for intake. The New Jersey OEO program apparently was intended to be of this type, but problems of transportation, organization, and shortage of counselor time resulted in relatively little individual counseling. NCCY did crisis counseling as part of its intake for each youth, and later organized groups of those who were in the same training programs.

Detroit, MFY, Lane County, YOB, Cleveland's Urban League-National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (UL-NAACP), Springfield Goodwill, and VAS-Altro approximated a pattern of combined individual and group counseling. In several of these projects, the individual counseling occurred before assignment to training, or in the early days of the training, with group counseling during training for the rest of the training period. Those youth with continuing personal problems continued in individual counseling concurrently with the group program. Such seemed to be the case in Lane County, VAS-Altro, Springfield Goodwill, UL-NAACP, and some parts of MFY. In some cases the intention to realize such format was not achieved because of the shortage of counselor time and inadequate organization of the program.

For example, the counselors in one project spent so much time in running errands for last minute arrangements (such as getting donuts and coffee ready, setting up the projector, etc.) that they had less time for individual counseling than the counselors wished. Another program simply abandoned its responsibilities regarding counseling, as defined by its proposal, and did no counseling after a brief initial interview by an untrained official. In another project, counselors wanted more time for individual counseling, but the program was operated largely through group counseling and there was little evidence that the youth wanted as much individual counseling as the staff would have liked to offer.

In contrast to those programs in which individual counseling for intake and planning preceded group methods are those in which the intake process was done in groups, followed by at least one individual counseling appointment for all, and more for those with further needs or wishes for individual counseling. This was the pattern used by YOB (before YOB gave up its group intake), by Detroit and PAL.

GROUP COUNSELING

A little further toward the end of the continuum marked by exclusive reliance on group work are those programs in which all participating youth were seen in groups, and individual counseling was employed only for those trainees with individual problems, ones which they defined themselves or which the project felt required referral to individual counseling. Of course, these projects also had individual meetings with their youth to make training assignments, or to schedule and usually interpret tests, but these meetings tended to involve minimal counseling, being largely for dealing with procedural matters of program orientation and operation. Projects falling into this group include JOBS (which used a private consulting company for intensive counseling of an individual nature), Pinellas County, Wise County School Board, Wise, Va., SSC, Draper, YMCA, St. Louis and Philadelphia JEVS, Northern Michigan University (NMU) in Marquette.

In some of these projects, individual counseling may in fact have been extensive, but done on a drop-in and unscheduled basis (SSC, Pinellas County, NMU, and NH to some extent). In these, the amount and role of individual counseling were determined almost entirely by the individual youth who sought the counseling, while those programmatic elements representing communications which the project wanted to initiate to the youth, or influences which originated in project-defined needs, were handled through group counseling. That is, the group counseling was initiated by the project, while the individual counseling was initiated by the youth. In such cases there tended to be relatively little individual counseling; apparently, even severely disadvantaged youth did not request or utilize individual counseling extensively, unless they formally were scheduled to do so (and even then they missed appointments). One project was itself so ill organized that unless it formally scheduled individual counseling in a fixed schedule, the staff seldom got around to offering it.

An alternative explanation for the relative underutilization of individual counseling might be that when there was a limited amount of counseling resources, programs tended to give priority to project-initiated and defined needs, which often were seen as being handled better through group counseling, leaving the scarce left-over counselor time for client-initiated needs. However, project reports tended to support the former explanation: They indicated that relatively few trainees dropped in for counseling or requested individual help.

Also about at the same point on the continuum are those projects which relied largely on group activities and programing, but as frames within which a great deal of individual counseling was done on an ad hoc basis, in brief interactions, usually initiated by the counselor. Although placed in an earlier category, it is possible that JOBS belongs here, in that the group leaders held many informal conversations with individuals in their groups which they tried to turn to counseling advantage, even in the context of basic education training groups, and other task-oriented activities. Similarly, the YMCA program was one in which the counselor was present in the workshop and intervened at particular points to deal with specific problems which arose or manifested themselves during workshop activities. To some extent this also was done by the work supervisors and foremen in all the sheltered workshops and work crews, such as SSC, Philadelphia JEVS, by social workers at VAS-Altro, and by the work education coordinators in the Detroit program. In this report, such brief, focused interventions at the moments when problems arise, and in the settings in which they occur, will be referred to as in situ counseling. The author considers it to be one of the potentially most effective techniques for disadvantaged youth, although this effectiveness is highly dependent on the quality of the work experience and training within which the in situ counseling usually occurs. In situ counseling also can take place in the street, at or just before job interviews, or after them—in short, at any time when the youth is caught up in the activity about which he is being counseled. The most highly developed programs for in situ counseling were those of SSC and YMCA. In some of the other projects mentioned, the main counseling was done outside the shop and the interventions were secondary aspects of the work roles of the work supervisors of foremen, supplemented sometimes by referrals to project counselors' offices for formal counseling (CPI, Philadelphia JEVS, Springfield Goodwill).

The most extreme positions on the continuum were occupied by programs in which individual counseling was reserved for dealing with problem cases which threatened to disrupt the training. In some programs, individual counseling was primarily a disciplinary matter and a prelude to dismissal from the program.

FOLLOWUP

In all projects in which followup counseling was done, it was necessarily on an individual basis. However, this agreement among programs was less impressive when one noted that formal followup counseling was in fact done by only a handful of programs: YMCA, PAL, Springfield Goodwill, St. Louis and Kansas City JEVS, and Draper seemed to be the ones in which followup counseling was considered at least as important as counseling during training and before placement. A few other programs attempted followup, either on an informal basis, at the discretion of the youth, or from time to time as other activities permitted. Such projects included NH, YOB, VAS-Altro, and MFY. While some of these did formal followup on all clients, none of them used the followup as a major vehicle for counseling as did those cited earlier.

Two projects also did some of their followup work in a group format: YMCA established an alumni club for this purpose, and YOB scheduled evening groups for boys who had been placed on jobs. However, these evening groups were ill-attended (less than 5 percent) and abandoned.

In NH, followup counseling tended to turn into group counseling in a fortuitous fashion. One counselor stayed late 1 or 2 evenings a week; as boys passed the center on their way home from work and saw his car indicating his presence, they would drop in to chat, constituting themselves as an informal group of shifting membership from week to week.

COUNSELING SCHEDULES

Projects ranged from formal administrative scheduling of almost all counseling in a set pattern, including numbers of sessions, through those in which each individual's schedule was established in counseling, to those with no schedule, in which youth could drop in on groups or for individual counseling as they wished. In some cases, groups had a fixed lifetime, in others they continued as long as they seemed to be productive. Sometimes both happened, with groups scheduled for a certain lifetime drying up before intended.

Most group counseling was on a scheduled basis, for obvious reasons, with schedules varying from 2 hours per week to daily meetings. Membership in these groups was expected to continue for the life of the group, which had a planned termination date, or for as long as the youth was in the phase of the program which the group was intended to serve (e.g., as long as the youth was in the prevocational phase for prevocational groups, in the intake phase for intake groups, or as long as he was in the work crew with which the group counseling was associated). In the last case, the groups were often continuous, with members being fed into and out of them as dictated by their individual programs and rates of progress. Often such scheduling also was determined by external circumstances such as the availability of a training course and the need to fill it at once.

In the Hunter's Point project the intake counselor tried to be available whenever wanted by a youth. But in other projects a firm schedule for individual counseling was worked out, in which the nature of the schedule varied from youth to youth and was arranged individually. Only three projects seemed to have fairly firm policies about the timing and number of sessions: ABCD scheduled one session for each youth, with the possibility of one followup when indicated. Further periodic counseling sessions were intended, but this intention was not realized. Springfield Goodwill insisted on a regular weekly schedule for its individual counselees, noting that they could and did learn to hold things until the appointed time. However, the number of sessions in that program was variable, depending on client needs, as far as one can tell from the report. CPI discouraged extended counseling, and expected individual counseling to be concluded in three to four sessions. However, longer series of sessions were permitted to problem cases. CPI particularly restricted the number of sessions for youth referred to psychotherapy, in order to avoid permitting the youth to defend himself against the referral by converting the counseling relationship into quasi-therapy.

PERSONALITY CHANGE

Five projects specifically seemed aimed at producing personality change, either as inferred from the projects' descriptions of their intentions or from the manner in which the project reports defined and diagnosed the problems of their disadvantaged youth. In all, joblessness was interpreted, at least proximally, as a manifestation of personality structures unsuited to stable employment, although these ultimately were ascribed to the conditions under which the youth were brought up. In these cases, the ascriptions to social causes were little more than lipservice, in that the projects did little or nothing to directly affect the communities in which their clients lived; none of them included programs for modifying the job opportunity structures in their communities. This is all the more surprising for one project which was originally established specifically to serve an urban renewal area, implying a community-focused definition of the problem. In general, there seemed to be a tendency for these projects to define their youth's problems as internal to the youth, and therefore to be unlikely to feel any compelling needs to direct their efforts at community problems or opportunity structures, beyond perhaps expressing sympathies.

One important corollary of aiming at personality change is a devaluation of employment as a specific goal of the project. In some cases, this devaluation may have served as a convenient rationalization for poor placement records; placements can be counted, but goals having to do with reorganization of personality, improved self-concepts and the like, cannot be measured, thus relieving the projects of the burden of proving their worth by reference to results, rather than by reference to the elaborateness or daring of the procedures employed by the project.

Given such a stance, it is a further corollary that such projects did not make major efforts at job development and placement in jobs which could function as incentives. When one defines joblessness as having an internal cause, external incentives tend to be given little weight. The result is that these projects tried to get jobs for their youth, but without much attention to the quality of the jobs obtained.

When the projects devoted few resources to job development and paid little attention to the quality of the jobs, their youth were more likely to reject the jobs to which they were referred (or to arrange not to be hired). The projects interpreted this as further evidence for the thesis that joblessness has internal causes. In effect, these projects produced a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In none of the five projects which aimed at personality change were there specifications of what particular aspect of personality was to be changed, or the direction of the change. That is, they tended to be global and diffuse in their theorizing, making isolation of measureable behavioral changes impossible.

An emphasis on personality change also means relatively long and expensive treatment using the most highly paid professionals. YOB noted that those counselors who were therapy oriented kept their youth in counseling longer than those with more limited goals, and NH found that counseling for personal problems was the most time consuming counseling activity.

Two of the personality-change projects deviated from the above description in important ways; in both projects, there was a good deal of confusion regarding the counseling orientation, with some parts of their reports describing a personality change goal and justifying their procedures by reference to such a goal, and other parts of their reports describing rather different goals. Thus one also stressed providing information and experiences about the middle-class world of work in order to change work-related behaviors which the project regarded as functional in lower social and economic settings but dysfunctional for job-holding. This is implicitly a sociological diagnosis, rather than one centered on personality. The project does not seem to realize the inconsistency.

The other project which deviated from the personality change goal espoused in its report did so by emphasizing short-term definable goals for its clients, and by casting these goals into vocationally relevant forms: to help the youth discover that he can do three things at once—get a job for ready money, formulate long-term goals, and take training to move him toward this goal. The gap between this statement of goals and the psychoanalytic diagnosis of disadvantagement in the project's report may be the result of having different sections of the report written by different staff members.

INTERVENTIONISM

Almost all the projects except those which very narrowly defined the limits of their counseling roles were interventionist in practice, if not in philosophy. That is, they directly assisted, supported, or stood for their clients in the clients' dealings with their social and institutional environments. Project personnel argued for their clients in law courts, intervened with the police, with housing and welfare authorities, intervened in the clients' families, negotiated with creditors, employers, and school officials—even with the draft boards. By and large they took the stance of advocates of the youth's interests, though few were as militantly so as MFY.

The most markedly interventionist agencies were NH, VAS-Altro, Detroit, PAL, YMCA, Des Moines, MFY, NJ OEO, ABCD, JOBS, KEY, Hunter's Point, and Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. In some of these programs interventions were not planned as a regular part of agency policy. Rather they were responses by sympathetic and deeply committed counselors to imperious needs of their clients. Thus few of the E&D agencies were organized to facilitate such interventions, contributing to the hectic pace and atmosphere of the agencies.

Direct interventions are a fairly standard part of social casework practice, and those agencies staffed by social workers seemed to take their interventionist activities in stride. However, in professional counseling such activities are new, and represent a breakthrough in practice, replacing the more typical stance of noninvolvement, passivity, and avoidance of taking responsibility for action.

This dramatic shift toward interventionism probably reflects the feeling of counseling personnel in E&D projects that the usual assumption that clients' environments are basically manageable by the clients once they have resolved their inner conflicts or uncertainties is not valid for disadvantaged youth. Thus interventionism suggests a recognition that even in the best of mental health, disadvantaged youth alone and unsupported are not able to control the array of impersonal and hostile forces operating in their environments which interfere with free decisionmaking.

The novelty of the interventionist stance among counselors is probably responsible for some degree of ineptness and confusion in managing these interventions. It is apparent that counselors for the disadvantaged need to know much more than they do about welfare law and policy, juvenile law, and tenants' and welfare clients' legal rights and about how social institutions operate.

Interventions With Parents

Many projects made it a regular practice to visit with and counsel parents in their youth's homes. Action Housing counselors visited the homes of prospective trainees to acquaint them with the program, tell them what to expect, and develop a realistic base for family support. The Draper followup counselor visited the families of his boys before they were released to their home towns in order to prepare them to help in the parolee's adjustment. Counselors in the Draper project also wrote letters to the youth's families when the boys entered the program, to solicit support and suggestions from them. The intake counselor at NH found that the youth liked it very much when they visited their homes to meet and talk to their parents.

The other most usual format for intervening in the family was to invite parents to the projects for interviews. The three JEVS projects did this, asking parents to come in during intake, as a prelude to intake, or immediately after intake. These projects stressed making specific and concrete suggestions about ways in which parents could help their children: Making sure that there was an alarm clock and that the youth got up in time; making sure that he had pocketmoney and carfare for lunch; letting him finish his training instead of pressuring him into taking the first job that comes along. These projects felt that the specificity of these suggestions to the parents did much to enable the parents to follow them, compared to vague and generalized urgings to cooperate.

Three projects attempted to develop formal group activities for parents or wives.

In general, these group counseling attempts did not succeed. In one, few mothers responded. At another, parents were either uninterested or could not arrange to attend the meetings, or expected so much from the counselor that they were disappointed and dropped out. However, it must be noted that there was some reason for thinking that the counselor in that program was not particularly skilled in group management and counseling.

One of the two wives' groups at Action Housing was considered a success. The groups were formed as a result of finding that the husbands' training was producing a strain in their marriages.

At Neighborhood House it was felt that wives and girlfriends constitute a most significant support for the boys in the program, and the project wanted to mobilize such support through a program for wives and girlfriends. However, Manpower Administration funds for this purpose were denied.

Interventions With Employers

One of the important practices reflecting an activist or interventionist stance and which became current in E&D projects was that of accompanying youth to their job interviews. This was done to help reduce anxiety, as a supportive measure, and to help the youth overcome the characteristic avoidance of leaving his home area. It also was done by some projects as a means of sponsoring the youth to the employer, thus increasing the probability that the youth would get the job.

Nine projects reported having made a practice of accompanying youth to job interviews: Pinellas County, NJ OEO, MFY, KC and SL JEVS, Chicago YOB's, Davis Memorial Goodwill Industries, and NH. In no case was it done with all youth; such a procedure was by and large reserved for those who needed it, either because they were too anxious to do it alone, because the project wanted to be in a position to soften the blow if the youth were turned down, or because the youth was so different from the stereotype expected by the prospective employer that it was felt necessary for the project to represent him and help sell him to the employer. Kansas City JEVS reported that it accompanied about 25 percent of its youth—especially the short, puny boys who did not look strong enough to employers, the very shy and timid, and the very black Negroes who usually found themselves the objects of strongest prejudice. Kansas City JEVS was frank with prospective employers about juvenile delinquency records, but also reported that it did not do to stress such records. Employers wanted to know about delinquency records, but did not want to be reminded continually or forcefully of them.

Neighborhood House staff reported that many boys do not want to be accompanied to jobs, and one sheltered workshop abandoned its use of the practice with the claim that it led to too much dependency. The project felt that some youth were hired who might not have been, but that such youth very frequently lost their jobs shortly thereafter or quit. Often this was because the youth could not get to work on time, or had to rely on uncertain transportation, or because the job was further from home than he liked, factors which would have been discovered had the youth gone on his own to the interview, but were not discovered when a project official drove him from the project offices in his private car.

The Youth Opportunities Board reported that 85 percent of those whom it accompanied were placed, and Davis Goodwill found the greatest placement success among those accompanied by the placement director. Further empirical data, quite easy to obtain, are required to know whether accompanied youth have shorter job tenure than those who got their jobs on their own, and if so, whether or not this is offset by greater placement success in terms of numbers who got jobs.

YOB found that it was fairly successful, when accompanying youth to job interviews, in persuading employers to hire youth with delinquency records when the job developers had enough details of the case to be able to reassure the prospective employer of the minor nature of the delinquency. However, inasmuch as delinquency records have no legal standing in many States, and courts have ruled that records of delinquency do not have to be reported, a good deal of thought must be given to the question of whether or not such records should be reported to employers. Such an exploration must deal with the limits of an employer's right to know about personal affairs of employees, and of the possibly counterproductive effects of exposing project-sponsored youth to greater risks of rejection than similar youth who refuse project services.

A good deal of emotional concern has been expressed about accompanying youth to job interviews. It has been described variously as hand-holding, babying, dependency-encouraging, and beyond the proper role of a counselor. An agency's position on the question may depend on the extent to which it considers the forces operating against disadvantaged youth to be basically reasonable and manageable by the youth.

In sum, it appeared that one of the important innovations in E&D counseling was the acceptance by counselors of some aspects of social casework methods. It may be predicted that this will have enduring effects on the counseling profession, although one of its more immediate consequences is likely to be further confusion over professional identity, and thus some tendency toward even more rigid adherence to established counseling theory. Thus one is likely to see a polarization between identity-conscious conservatives and interventionist younger activists—a conflict which is already represented in Youth Opportunity Centers (YOC) and other ES offices.

SPEED OF SERVICE

Another major innovation in supplying counseling and other services was the emphasis on speed in several of the programs. In some cases program changes were introduced when experience indicated that dropout rates during the intake phase could be reduced by organizing for immediate or near-immediate intake into the project. Philadelphia JEVS and SSC explicitly recognized that disadvantaged youth do not tolerate delays readily, and that they must strike while the iron is hot. Both projects were structured so as to allow applying youth to begin work and training within 24 hours of application.

NCCY was explicitly a crisis-oriented program, drawing heavily on crisis theory in social work. Crisis theory indicates that a brief intervention when the youth is in the crisis of just having been rejected for military service may be more effective and efficient than even extended counseling after the youth has developed undesirable defenses and adaptations to the traumatic event. NCCY noted that the sooner a youth was referred, the better the chance that he would follow through. Thus an attempt was made to refer him to placement or training during the first 15 minute interview, which in most cases took place immediately after the youth had been informed of his rejection from military service.

NH also noted that the greatest motivation arises out of crises; that is why the program tried to take youth in fast and immediately mobilize their self-interests. NH believes that help in solving crises, usually cash crises, provides the agency with the opportunity to start vocational planning with the youth.

The Police Athletic League abandoned its costly and time-consuming clinical-type intake in favor of a more rapid group intake procedure which permitted individuals to get started in its program promptly and without waiting for repeated and wearying testing and interview appointments. YOB's intensive 2-day intake groups were designed to do the same thing. Lane County found that when it switched from individual intake to a faster group format, it cut the dropout rate during intake from 24 to 14 percent.

PAL specifically included within the group intake some instruction on job search techniques, so that the young people in the group would get, at the very beginning, some of the employment service and help that they came for.

NH found that any delay between intake and the next phase of the youth's progress through the program increased the dropout rate. Thus the project emphasized speed in getting the youth into some kind of responsible paid work, such as immediately sending him on errands for the project, or hiring him to wash project staff cars, mow the lawns, and the like.

In all, there were seven programs which made explicit points of providing immediate and speedy service: Philadelphia JEVS, CPI, SSC, NH, PAL, YOB, and NCCY. However, it should be noted that in the case of NCCY, once counseled, youth sometimes experienced considerable delays in getting into any kind of training, although the project tried to reduce such delays as much as possible, considering that it was primarily a referral agency with no direct control over training programs. One of its techniques in facilitating referrals was to undertake to do all the paperwork of the receiving agency related to the youth project referred to it.

WORK RELEVANCE LIMITS

In contrast to the five programs which aimed at personality change is the larger number of programs which emphasized a limitation of interest to only those parts of clients' lives, experience, and problems which affected their employability and vocational development. There were seven such programs: Philadelphia JEVS, KC JEVS, SL JEVS, MFY, YMCA, SSC, and NH. It might seem as if a policy of limitation would contradict an interventionist stance. However, it can be seen that three of these agencies, YMCA, MFY, and NH also were cited as interventionist.

Neighborhood House reported that its restriction of focus resulted in increased community support, as it moved away from a psychosocial orientation to a strictly vocational one.

Philadelphia JEVS reported that its counselors listened with sympathy and interest to clients who wished to discuss personal problems, even though the counselors could not help them with such problems. It was also reported that their most successful group counseling sessions were those which were specifically job-related. The followup research done on JOBS "graduates" supports the conclusion that project youth are more interested in vocational matters than in other adjustment problems. YMCA, like Philadelphia JEVS, was also assiduous in avoiding entering into personal problems which were felt to be beyond the scope and limitations of vocational counseling.

Two programs (MFY and SSC) explicitly referred to the notion that young people can be trained for work and can get jobs and be employed even with personal problems, and that the first task was to accomplish such a work adjustment. The personal problems could be dealt with later, if they did not resolve themselves as a consequence of the youth's new psychosocial and financial position as a wage-earning employed adult.

YMCA reported that its best counseling was done on the job, during visits by the counselors to the youth's work sites, and that such impromptu counseling was more effective than office counseling.

UL-NAACP supports this view with its observation that its counseling became much more realistic and effective once the project had work-training placements to which the counselees were assigned.

Two programs had, as part of their work orientation, a policy of trying to maximize their youth's strengths, as far as employment was concerned, rather than concentrating on problems and disabilities (CPI, NH).

In the very nature of their operations, all the sheltered workshops contained this feature of getting youth into paid work as soon as possible. The work experience stations of MFY could also be considered as sheltered workshops in this respect. However, the SSC was the program most highly organized around this concept, and in which the work was of a relatively high level of skill, rather than the unspecialized routine operations carried out in most sheltered workshops.

Thus overall there was a tendency for those programs with an orientation toward employment as an immediate goal to place counseling as a support to actual work, rather than as a preliminary stage to work, a hurdle, or a barrier to work.

The use of counseling as a support to concurrent work appeared to be one of the most productive formats for working with disadvantaged youth, and has a great deal to recommend it from a number of points of view.

LIMITED GOALS

Focusing counseling narrowly on job-relevant behaviors should not be confused with the emphasis which several programs put on the use of limited goals as a general program strategy. In four projects (Pinellas County, PAL, CPI, and YOB), counselors encouraged youth to set up short-term, reachable goals related to their interests, and to lay out steps which would readily lead to such goals, thus giving the youth rapid experiences in successful planning and problem solving, and in taking steps which result in fast payoffs with respect to the goals. In effect, then, long-term plans were broken down into manageable goals which the youth could understand and accept, in a time scale that he could tolerate, and at a level of difficulty which the youth could believe himself capable of accomplishing.

Projects seemed to have arrived at this strategy through trial and error, notably through the discovery that disadvantaged youth did not think in terms of distant futures, had little confidence in planning for such futures, and often thought of this planning as unrealistic and silly, especially as what they primarily are interested in is getting a job then and there. Such youth often went along with a counselor's desire to talk about long-term futures, but without conviction, if they thought it would please the counselor enough to get them jobs.

CONCRETENESS

One of the great advantages of in situ counseling, as described in this report, and of counseling which is concurrent with work training or actual employment, is that it lends itself readily to concreteness. That is, the counselor and the client can talk about specific behaviors in actual and current situations, and attitudes as they represent themselves in behavior. They thus avoid the abstractions and generalizations and academic discussion with which office counseling not directly associated with job performance must deal. This is a great advantage for counseling disadvantaged youth with their limited vocabulary of abstract concepts. Five projects emphasized concreteness as characteristic of their counseling: Kansas City JEVS, SSC, YMCA, VAS-Altro, and UL-NAACP. The first four achieved it by stationing counselors directly in the work-training shops and workrooms, ready to be called on to intervene at any time. Other projects strove for concreteness, but their organizations, in which counselors were not actually present in the work place, or like MFY and NH only periodically visited the work place, did not lend themselves to the immediacy of counselor response which concreteness demands. In those projects in which the counselors were not present at the youth's worksites, counselors tended to have only infrequent and distant communications with the work supervisors, despite their best efforts to the contrary, and this distance further removed the counseling from relevance.

Concreteness was not only a value to the counselee. YMCA pointed out that the presence of the counselor at the worksite made the counselor much more realistic about what was involved in the work.

As indicated earlier, in situ counseling need not be restricted to the work place. It refers to counseling which takes place when the youth is in the situation about which he is being counseled. For example, in St. Louis and Philadelphia JEVS, suggestions about how to behave in a job interview were given, clothing and appearance discussed, and filling out an application covered at the point when a job opening had been developed for a youth. Role-playing the interview took place just before the youth was to go for the interview. Obviously such counseling help was more likely to be remembered and attended to when given at that time than when it was part of formal curriculums presented to boys to whom actual jobs appeared as vague and unreal possibilities.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Almost all the projects saw their work finished when they were able to place a youth in a job, except for the few that did systematic followup checking. Inasmuch as the jobs on which most youth were placed were low-level and deadend jobs, and seldom lasted long, this short-sighted view was especially regrettable. It seemed likely that such placements would do little more than attenuate the youth's poverty, for few of the jobs were stable enough, or pay enough, or lead to better ones, to start the youth on a path out of poverty. However, there were a few projects which took a longer view. They tended to see the first placements as serving primarily to give the youth real job experience, and to give him increased time to perfect his skills in the marketplace. They then planned with the youth for entrance into a stable career line, assisted him in getting a job on a career ladder, and made such promotion placements themselves.

YMCA and PAL followed this orientation. YMCA placed boys on a first job, and then in a few months placed them in a better paying and more highly skilled position, while counseling them about career development. The project replaced over 60 former trainees in the interest of career development.

With a career development orientation, it was not surprising that YMCA and Kansas City JEVS reported placement figures which were the highest or among the highest in the E&D program, and that the job tenure of those they placed seemed well above those achieved by almost all the other projects.

NH tried to ease youth into full-time jobs and work adjustment by what might be considered the classical psychological procedure of successive approximations: work on a work crew, followed by part-time or short-term placement outside of the project and culminating in regular, permanent placement. The basic idea is that short-term or temporary placements bridge the gap between training and regular work and give the youth a relatively safe way of testing himself in the real world of work before he commits himself so deeply to a job that he is too afraid of losing it to feel the freedom to experiment.

Kansas City and St. Louis JEVS also used such short-term placements as practice for a future better placement, as did CPI. NH added that the use of short-term placements also had the effect of keeping a youth coming back to the project for new placements, so that the tendency of those placed on jobs to not return for followup counseling is counteracted.

It should be noted that these uses of short-term placements in low-level jobs are likely to motivate youth only if they understand that the agency will make good its promise to upgrade them. If the youth have doubts about the agency's ability to follow through, they will see such placements as no better than the jobs they could get themselves without going through the agency's testing, counseling, and training procedures.

PERSISTENCE

A degree of patience and understanding well beyond that which has characterized most bureaucratic institutions dealing with youth was displayed by almost all the E&D projects. However, even they had their limits, sometimes by conscious administrative decision, sometimes as byproducts of the kinds of priorities on scarce staff time which tended to emerge. Most programs found that the press and demands from new applicants and clients anxious to move ahead into job placements preempted the time and resources they could devote to those who dropped out, who failed to take best advantage of the training, or who did not respond well to the program and messed-up on job placements afterwards. Some projects seemed to experience periodic pangs of concern about these failure cases, and would mount brief campaigns to find them and bring them back into the fold, but usually new pressures from those still in the programs made such campaigns short-lived, and the scarcity of jobs on which to place their youth made it difficult for them to risk losing or wasting a placement resource by making it available to a youth who had already failed on placements in the past.

Further, with limited job resources, and limited job development staff, projects tended to develop norms regarding the amount of effort they could put into placing a particular youth. Beyond some kind of subjectively experienced "discouragement point," job developers would begin to feel that further trying would be useless, that the youth was unplaceable, and would refer him back for further counseling or training, or would use the "don't call me, I'll call you" gambit. For many youth their "last" chances, as represented to them by the publicity attending E&D projects, thus passed them by.

At the extreme were those projects which used disbarment from the program as a final punishment for misbehavior. Most projects found that they had to suspend or drop some youth for aggressive or antisocial behavior. They used such disbarment as a last resort, and with a good deal of ambivalence (except perhaps for one school-based project, which expressed some pride in the rigidity with which it clung to irrelevant standards of dress and comportment), recognizing that for many youth, their programs were in fact last chances, and by suspending a youth, they were cutting off one whose behavior indicated that he needed help the most from the last resort for such help.

One sheltered workshop found it necessary to suspend some youth from its program, and it is apparent from its report that staff members found themselves morally outraged by some of the aggressive acting out of its youth, and by what the staff seemed to feel was a lack of appreciation for the program's efforts. Nevertheless, the program tried to maintain an open door policy, such that any youth could return, no matter how he had messed-up. It is another question whether a certain Pecksniff attitude might not have discouraged enough of the suspended youth from returning to effectively cancel the policy. However, the project did followup continuously those who had dropped out, or who had lost the jobs on which they had been placed.

NCCY expressed the principle by placing a youth in as many programs and jobs as he was interested in, regardless of his record in past placements. The report describes one case of a young man for whom the project staff went to extraordinary lengths to take him out of a bad home situation and get him a live-in job which also left him free time to take job training, only to have the boy quit the job as not to his liking. Nevertheless, NCCY continued to work with the youth in seeking other arrangements and jobs that would be more acceptable.

NH implemented the principle through its close identification with its community, in which it seemed to define all the youth of the community as its clients, regardless of whether they had ever been in any of the project's programs. Each new program or opportunity that developed was offered to all in the community without regard to the quality or amount of past participation in NH services.

FIRMNESS VS. PERMISSIVENESS

Three projects reported using firmness as a general characteristic of their counseling. In all three cases, the first impulse was to nondirective and permissive counseling, but the projects' experience indicated that disadvantaged youth tended to perceive such permissiveness as weakness, a trait which is highly disvalued by such youngsters. Thus Pinellas County, YOB, and Springfield Goodwill moved toward greater degrees of firmness in their approaches to youth. YOB noted that its counselors try to be permissive and nondirective in the intake or "seduction" phase, but that once they got a boy in the program they found it necessary to apply all the firmness, cajolary, and pressure that the youth would tolerate to move him from his drifting and aimless passivity into planning and action-taking.

In this connection, Action Housing and Philadelphia JEVS noted that their youth liked best the firmest instructor in the former, the firmest foreman in the latter. Both projects noted independently that these best-liked figures were both firm and fair, and understanding and accepting, if unyielding on certain points, and that their youth liked knowing exactly where they stood with these men.

Feelings about permissiveness vs. firmness tend to run high among counseling and social work personnel, and a good deal of piety is invoked on both sides, probably reflecting the inappropriateness of the general concept. It would seem more reasonable to cease using the terms as general descriptions of programs and practices, and instead talk about what is permitted and what is not, and the sanctions available.

Once dealt with in terms of specifics, it becomes possible for counselors to set limits in a planful and consistent fashion, and to communicate those limits to their clients, within which they may be permissive. In this way, the pain and turmoil of the limits-testing to which clients are forced by the vagueness and strangeness of what is purported to them to be a completely permissive policy (but which does not turn out to be that way in agencies which refuse to place their youth until the counselors are convinced that they are "job ready") can be more readily and consistently handled and reduced. Without such explicit recognition of the roles and places of permissiveness and firmness, counselors find limits-testing frightening and extremely difficult to handle, raising the danger of overresponding by becoming defensively strict and firm when inappropriate.

It would be well for projects to give serious attention to limits-setting in advance, and to communicate those limits before they are breached. Setting limits implies a consideration of the sanctions regarding violation. Most projects found occasion to use suspension or dismissal from the program as their only available sanctions (except for docking pay for lateness), and the harshness of that step left the projects reluctant to use it and therefore without any effective graded sanctions. Where suspension or disbarment is used as a sanction, it is thus very important to take steps to keep the door open for the return of the dismissed youth, to invite his return, to make him feel that his return is desired, and to facilitate it.

Pinellas County went further; it made arrangements with local police for sentences imposed on project youth for minor crimes to be designed so as not to interfere with the youths' participation in the program, much as some universities make arrangements for their transgressing students to be required to say in jail only during the evenings or on weekends, and to be released to go to classes during the day.

YMCA, Springfield Goodwill and Philadelphia JEVS began their youth under permissive supervision and gradually escalated the firmness of their standards (and the difficulty of the work) through the course of the youth's progress. In YMCA the escalation was by the same instructor-foreman; in JEVS it was managed by moving the youth from the most permissive foreman through a graded series of foremen until he arrived at the last, who was the most exacting of all. A refinement which might be made in this process, and which could be readily subjected to empirical test, is to cap the series off with a permissive foreman (or instructor) in order to give the youth the opportunity to internalize the standards represented to him earlier, and practice in relying on such standards. It would be worth testing such a notion in an experiment in which one measures the extent to which performance on a task deteriorates in a free field after a graded series of tasks calling for more and more precision as the condition of success.

CLIENT PARTICIPATION

Several of the E&D projects were structured to involve youth directly in the operations of the programs. They took significant amounts of responsibility for themselves and other trainees, and frequently shared activities which would otherwise be done by project staff. For example, Kansas City JEVS required its youth to bring a newspaper every day, and the first hour was spent with the counselor perusing the want ads and discussing, in almost a collegial fashion, what they found there. When it came time for placement, the counselor telephoned job openings with the youth present and participating as a third party in the job development discussion. The counselor also made it a point to describe the youth to the prospective employer, in the youth's presence. This was done so that the youth would know that if he got the job, it was on the basis of accepting him as he was honestly, so that he would not be under a strain of fearing to be "found out."

SSC, Pinellas County, and YMCA included trainees through various forms of student governments or councils. In the skills center project, trainees elected their own group leaders; the groups functioned not only as counseling groups, but as quasi-legislative bodies in the sense that the center management tried to be responsive to the policy recommendations which such groups made from time to time.

In the Draper project, so much research was done in the developing and testing of programed instructional materials for skill training that the youth caught onto the experimental atmosphere and saw themselves as important parts of the process whose responses and evaluations were significant. The boys thus began to think of themselves as allies of the experimenters, and used their introspections as bases for recommending changes in the experiments and hypotheses to be tested. The project thus promoted self-importance and self-observation. Trainees' awareness that the results of the program had significance for programs in other states added to their feelings of self-importance and participation in something of great value.

Lane County's report emphasized the program's policy of including the youth in responsibilities for program operation and policy. This was done through hiring a few of its youth for subprofessional and other aide functions in the project, as secretaries, clerks, recruiters, receptionists, and group leaders. Many other projects also employed some of their former trainees, often as means of providing on-the-job training which would be of later use to the trainee, or because the project wanted to take advantage of some particular talent which some youth possessed. Lane County's hirings were intended to have an added feature; they were to demonstrate the agency's commitment to and belief in their youth, by being willing to hire them themselves, and to prove a means for the youth the agency served to participate in the agency's operation. This last involves a participation by symbolic representation, rather than by direct election from constituents or use of project trainees as legislative, advisory, or executive bodies.

NH placed many of its youth in a private, agency-owned company (Supreme Services), which offered janitorial services on a competitive basis and at the same time provided work-training experience for the youth. Work crew members participated in planning the work to be done on their contracts and in making policy decisions. Such trainee participation did not prevent Supreme Services from being a successful commercial enterprise. In fact, the company was able to donate money back to the NH program.

A most heartening finding was that under a fee-splitting arrangement the youth averaged $2.30 an hour for work that usually pays an average of a little over $1 an hour. This testifies to the amount of effort they were willing to put forth when the rewards in direct income were assured and thus supports the hypothesis, advanced earlier in this report, that disadvantaged youth are responsive to incentives and that the motivational deficit ascribed to them is very likely due to lack of real work incentive in the jobs available to them.

The writer knows of no better format than this for giving disadvantaged youth good work experience and practice in all aspects of the work role, including goal setting, planning, impulse control, and all the other traits that counselors otherwise must try to talk into their clients in the abstract through individual and group discussions. The cooperative moneymaking work group not only provides the best kind of training—most focused, concrete, and real—but also goes most directly to the heart of the problem as perceived by youth—the need for a job and income. Moreover, it does so while paying its own way, or requiring relatively small subsidies compared to the cost of counseling and training programs which do not produce any commercially salable products or services. The potential of this format for achieving many of the goals of counseling in E&D projects is very great.

CLIENT DEFINITION OF NEEDS

Except for a few instances, the E&D projects suffered from a common difficulty—a disjunction between the projects' views of their goals and the needs experienced by the youth they served. With striking regularity, projects reported that a majority of youth came to them wanting help in getting jobs, and getting a job was their primary motivation in contacting the agency. All else—training, testing, counseling—tended to be perceived as barriers or hurdles to placement, or as put-offs.

Thus the common difficulty experienced by many of the projects was convincing their clients that they needed counseling and training as preliminaries to job placement. Some were outstanding for willingness to accept clients' views of themselves and their needs.

—NH arranged for applicants to see the ES representative attached to the agency right away, in a brief, business-like contact, to further set the tone of the project as seriously concerned about employment for the youth. The project felt that providing paid work experience shortly after intake was the most important factor in keeping a boy in the program.

—PAL provided its clients with opportunities to test out their plans, ideas, and self-perceptions even when the staff was sure that they were inappropriate. The project also arranged to give guidance in job search techniques in the very first group intake meeting.

—Kansas City JEVS accepted client self-perceptions and those who asked to be excused from work training instead were placed directly on jobs. To the agency's surprise, these youth turned out to have better job tenure records than those who went through the work training program. MFY also tried to place directly those youth who insisted on jobs and rejected training.

—Philadelphia JEVS did not require participation in remedial education, leaving the decision up to the youth.

CLIENT AWARENESS

A number of E&D projects fostered client awareness in their counseling. At the CPI, NMU, Detroit, and PAL projects, counselors stressed their role of helping the client formulate questions, laying out for him the alternatives available and the consequences of various kinds of choices, and thus helping him make decisions. The PAL program also tried to provide situations in which the client could test his choices. Such situations probably were also implicit in the CPI programs. This kind of counseling obviously requires the counselor to provide information to the client about alternatives and consequences.

A somewhat different kind of cognitive orientation was stressed in Kansas City JEVS, Philadelphia JEVS, and Skills Center. In these projects one of the major functions of counseling was to verbalize, interpret, and make explicit the experiences the youth were having in their training. In this way, counseling helped the youth to form definite ideas which could influence his sense of identity as a competent worker and increase his self-esteem.

STRATEGY OF SUCCESS

Several projects tried to employ a strategy of success. CPI used this term to refer to its tactic of trying to get some very good jobs for a few men in each neighborhood. As the word spread, the project became known as the place where a person could get good training and a good job.

Related to this strategy was the use of role models of people who had made it up from poverty. For example, some work education coordinators in the Detroit program talked about their success in climbing out of poverty when counseling their youth. Pinellas County counselors used the same strategy, noting that they were the first successful men many of their youth had ever known. Draper, a prison project, had visits from former prisoners who had made respected names for themselves. Temple and YOB arranged for visits by successful Negroes and Mexican Americans.

Skills Center and JOBS found that placing a member of a work group in a job greatly increased the motivation and ambition of the other youth. NH discovered that when some of its youth took and passed a civil service test, others became interested in test preparation courses.

Another strategy of success was used by Philadelphia JEVS, Skills Center, and Draper. In all three, the training was arranged so that the youth started out on a task that he could probably perform successfully. This strategy was most highly developed in Draper's programed instruction. The programs themselves were written to insure a 90-percent success rate, and the passage of one item became the occasion for building into a more complex or difficult one.

COUNSELING PERSONNEL

In 25 projects, all or most of the formal counseling was done by professionals. However, 20 projects used nonprofessionals in important roles in counseling, ranging from aides to group counselors (Lane County) to positions of complete responsibility for group counseling (JOBS). In each of these projects, the nonprofessionals were the principal contact persons for the clients. Nearly all projects using nonprofessionals were enthusiastic about their work. For financial reasons, most would not have been able to operate at all if they had insisted on master's degrees in counseling or social work for their counselors. Hence nonprofessionals played essential roles in the projects.

Nevertheless, the writer feels that many projects had too few professionals for consultation and supervision. Few projects had the kinds of intellectual talents they could use in research, in making more sense out of their experiences, and in organizing and reporting their discoveries, strategies, and insights. Thus one function of the E&D program—communicating the results of their experience to other agencies—was severely restricted by the shortage of top-level personnel.

Several projects felt that the race of their counseling personnel was important. A number indicated that having interracial staffs increased their effectiveness, and one suggested that counselors of the same race as their youth developed closer relationships with them.

PLACEMENT COUNSELING

In most projects, placements were handled by members of a special job development and placement staff, rather than by counselors. Thus little advantage was taken of the placement-referral opportunity to do counseling.

Lane County's placement counselor held mock job interviews, including making and keeping appointments, filling out an application, and interviewing the youth, when the youth became "ready" for placement. After these procedures, the youth's performance was "critiqued" with the counselor. In the PAL program, prevocational counseling elements were not formally scheduled in the various special interest groups which the youth joined. However, they were taken up in any and all of the groups when they became relevant.

KEY had one of the most highly developed systems for placement counseling. First the placement man visited the prospective employer to get details about the job and to learn what he could about the employer. He then would describe the prospective employer to the trainee, rehearse the trainee in interview behaviors, application-filing, and the like, and send the trainee to the prospect. Following the trainee's interview, the placement man again would visit the employer to get feedback from him, and would discuss this feedback with the trainee. In this connection, NH had businessmen speak to their orientation groups and conduct mock job interviews, which the businessmen then critiqued. Reports said the boys took the comments of the businessmen, whom they saw as real prospective employers, much more seriously than they did the comments of the counseling staff.

GROUP METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Groupings

Projects grouped their youth for counseling in many different ways. In some they were grouped according to the stage of their progress through the program (prevocational, vocational, advanced, followup); in others according to the particular part of the program they were in, defining some common activity (basic education, work crew, OJT).

In most projects, the youth were isolated from others not in the project. However, in four programs (VAS-Altro, Davis Goodwill, KC JEVS, CPI) some or all the youth were mixed with other older, more experienced workmen. All four arranged this mixing on the theory that the older workers would serve as role models and supports to the youth.

Other mixtures recommended by projects were of younger and older boys, so that the older boys would operate as a stabilizing and more serious influence on the younger ones (NJ OEO).

YOB recommended that groups not contain too many shy, reticent, or nonverbal youngsters, or too many who took the position that they wanted jobs instead of talk. They also recommended that the group contain several cooperative and highly verbal members to start the ball rolling.

Several programs implied the virtue of some kind of commonality among group members. MFY built its groups around common training assignments (all OJT trainees in the same department store; all trainees in the teacher-aide program; members of the same work teams). YMCA stressed composing groups of those in the same skill training, so that the subjects of conversation could be maximally relevant to the work training and to the needs of workers in that field.

Group Techniques

Some projects organized their groups around definite starting and ending dates. Other groups were kept freeflowing, with new members fed in from time to time, while older ones moved on. This arrangement was used most often for intake groups.

Some programs had structured group curriculums so tightly formalized as to be more appropriately termed classes. At the other extreme were loose groups in which any and every topic of interest to the youth was discussed. Such programs drew heavily on the mystique associated with group dynamics—but often in a rather naive way. JOBS found that aimless drift in totally permissive group meetings required some kind of scheduling as a corrective. Also, few counselors, particularly at the semi-professional levels, had had much if any supervised experience or training in group methods.

The most unique group program in the E&D projects was the 2-day intensive groups developed by YOB for intake counseling. These ran for a full 8 hours each of the 2 days, with a lunch break. Action Housing used a similar format with its groups lasting 4 days.

In some projects, the groups were quite task oriented. JOBS, for example, gave members assignments to study such questions as how they would invest $1,000 in business in a Negro community. Group members went into the community and interviewed shopkeepers and businessmen there to get their judgments and to gather information about the economic conditions of the neighborhood.

Interesting techniques punctuated the project reports. A counselor at NH came to one meeting attired as an Apache Indian would on his reservation in order to stimulate discussion about why some dress appears strange in the wrong context.

Pinellas County confronted its race problem in a series of special group meetings with white and Negro trainees which lasted far into the night, to allow the youth to freely air their feelings.

Project reports generally were less communicative about particular techniques used in individual counseling. But E&D counselors were more involved in the lives of their clients than has been typical of vocational training.

Group Supports

The major justification for the emphasis on group methods in E&D projects is that peer pressures are more effective in inducing attitude and behavior change than pressures from staff. Other claims made for the virtues of group methods are that group counseled youth relate better to staff members in individual counseling and are more willing to be responsible for themselves (Lane County) and that older and more mature group members help stabilize the behavior of the younger and more impulsive youth (N.J. OEO).

The major negative effect cited was the development of powerful group norms which are not necessarily any more appropriate to the needs of a particular individual member of the group than any other externally applied norms.

OTHER TECHNIQUES AND PRACTICES

Counselors in E&D projects were much more extensively involved in the lives of their clients than has been typical of vocational counseling. For example, in several projects—particularly NMU and Pinellas County—the counselors engaged in recreational activities with their youth, primarily to demonstrate to the youth that the counselors liked them beyond the demands of their official positions. At NH, MFY, and several other projects, counselors visited youth who had been incarcerated in order to show their interest in them and lay the groundwork for their return to the project upon release.

EVALUATION OF E&D EXPERIENCE

The Context of Counseling

The major achievement of the E&D projects—and the one whose recognition may have far-reaching effects on the structure of training for vocational counseling—may be demonstrating the principle that counseling should be embedded in a comprehensive program. The one feature that all E&D projects shared was that counseling was part of a larger set of services, including training and placement.

Nevertheless, the importance of the context for counseling was grossly underestimated. In general, one might say that the more that counseling in an E&D project substituted for training and placement rather than supplemented them, the poorer the program and the counseling were and the less the project demonstrated or discovered about counseling methods for disadvantaged youth. When counseling is part of work and training, it can deal with the hard realities of behavior and can limit itself to those which play a part in the youth's work life.

Training and Placement

In trying to make youth amenable to training, too little attention was paid to work incentives. The training often did not lead to or prepare the youth for incentive-type jobs, and job development and placement were skimped. As a result the youth often responded to training with apathy, reinforcing a diagnosis of low motivation and leading to expansion of prevocational counseling and training on the assumption that the youth were not ready for solid technical training in work skills. Admittedly, it is difficult for disadvantaged youth to stick out lengthy and difficult training for high-level skill jobs, but how much more difficult it is for them to stick out courses patently not likely to lead to worthwhile jobs. In this sense, counseling has had to function as a substitute for good training.

In a context in which training was directed largely at superficial characteristics of the work role—such as comportment, promptness, and dress—rather than at the skills needed to perform work, placement people had no tangible basis for selling a youth to an employer. Lacking such a basis and unable to do anything about skill training, the placement people were in a necessarily difficult position.

The lack of attention to the availability of work incentives constitutes the most significant failure of the E&D projects. Project proposals appear to have been funded primarily on the basis of the attractiveness of their proposed techniques, with little attention to the availability of jobs. Consequently, the placement figures of the projects covered in this report were, by and large, so discouraging as to provide little justification for the programs.

Associated with the generally poor development of placement as an E&D project function was the lack of development of placement counseling. It would appear that the placement function should provide the opportunity for the most effective, immediate, and realistic counseling with maximum impact on the client. Thus the writer contends that placement as such (not including job development) should be handled by counseling personnel. However, in most projects it was handled by placement people whose emphases appeared to be more on placement administration than on use of the situation as a frame for counseling. Since this is the usual organization of counseling and placement, the use of placement as a counseling resource and the occasion for counseling in such projects as Philadelphia JEVS, Kansas City JEVS, YMCA, Draper, and to some extent

PAL is an important innovation. One recommendation growing out of this experience is that the employment service break placement counseling off from job development and assign it to the counseling staff—not as an endpoint of counseling but as the major vehicle for beginning it. The bulk of counseling may well follow placement rather than precede it.

Aside from sheltered workshops, E&D projects produced two formats of great potential importance as contexts for counseling. These are the workers' cooperative, such as NH's Supreme Services, and the Job Bank, which became a feature of St. Louis JEVS when it took a contract to train a group of youth for positions as photofinishers for a photo processing company.

Both of these formats allow the project to guarantee a job to a youth in advance, thus forming one of the most powerful and certain incentives as a support for counseling. They permit maximum tailoring of the training to the needs of the job and enable the youth to learn the work role by actually performing it, combined with training under supervision.

The writer feels that providing services to the public at market value is an important component of both sheltered workshops and workers' co-ops. It seems apparent that the need to earn money insures that the work training will approximate true work roles as found in private industry, so that the training will be realistic and appropriate. In addition, the facts of production, with profit sharing, become almost unmatchable sources of pride and motivation, especially when youth see them as reliably leading to respected work as wage-earning adults.

Other Factors

The great expansion of group counseling methods in E&D projects was among their most important achievements. A great deal of experience has been gained, and counselors today are both more skilled in group methods and more receptive to them as a result. The restriction of counseling to the individual one-to-one relationship has been replaced by an appreciation of the roles of both methods.

Another outstanding demonstration of E&D projects has been the value and usefulness of subprofessionals in working with disadvantaged youth. The E&D experiences have been so uniformly positive as to lend great weight to the idea that subprofessionals, particularly those drawn from the same culture as the target population, can perform the most useful services for disadvantaged youth and, under professional support and supervision, can carry out many of the direct contact services required.

Still another major achievement of the E&D programs was the institutionalization of an interventionist stance, in which the counselors entered directly into all facets of a youth's life and took a hand in helping to solve his problems. Conversely, the absence of adequate followup programs in most projects marks a conspicuous failure in the E&D programs. The ease with which so many projects relinquished their followup commitments under the pressure of service needs indicates that followup generally is not perceived as central to counseling.

A second weak point was the tendency for counseling personnel to play large, and in many cases determining, roles in designing project services and activities. Unfortunately, program planning and administration have seldom been a formal part of the training of counselors, and the result of their lack of training and experience was often chaotic administration that seemed almost always to be responding to some crisis. In addition, in two projects (ABCD and Lane County) uncertainties about contract renewal and those attendant upon the phasing out of a program had discernibly negative effects on the youth. This is a consequence of the short-term funding pattern used and the absence of definite guidelines for phasing out projects.

SUMMARY

Certainly one of the things to be learned from the E&D programs was that the present structure of MDTA training is inadequate. The complex machinery for establishing and conducting such training is so unwieldy, and lacking in a focus for responsibility, influence, and control, that it cannot serve the training needs of the Nation's disadvantaged youth. The writer hopes that he has shown sufficiently that the utility of counseling depends greatly on the context in which it is done, and the use to which it is put.

Much of the need for E&D projects arose from a persistent conflict in American education. It has failed to reconcile adequately its principles of open access to schooling at all levels—which implies resistance to early specialization that would block a student from changing his educational objectives—and the need for vocational training. Moreover, in the writer's opinion local school systems, as presently organized—except perhaps in the largest and most affluent cities—cannot provide competent technical training in skilled trades. The demands of technology are such that machines become outdated shortly after purchase. Since schools do not have the financial resources for constant replacement and improvement of production tools, school vocational training must inevitably use outdated methods, equipment, and procedures.

The MDTA program has attempted to improve vocational training without substantially revising the organization of education in the country or interfering with the principle of local control of the schools. However, it has not altered the problem of training youth in the use of modern techniques and tools required by industry; it has not prevented the intrusion of academic requirements that bear no relationship to the needs of the work; and it has not been able to offer a variety of courses when and where they are needed.

Hence it appears to the author that the Department of Labor must abandon its attempt to work through the present educational system as its major resource for providing vocational training, and should seek to institutionalize other resources or means for providing skill training in a way that would make the latter more responsive to the needs of the job market and the needs of potential workers.

In short, technical training should no longer remain the province of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW); it should be placed squarely in the Department of Labor, which should then look to labor and industry, or perhaps even to a federally sponsored new national institution, to provide for training for employment.

With one important proviso: The Department of Labor should free itself from its agreement with organized labor to refrain from sponsoring training in apprenticeable trades. It must be stated frankly that protective union policies have resulted in the denial of access to the types of training which disadvantaged youth need most.

Overall, one can expect that between 30 percent and 50 percent of project youth will drop out of the project, that placement rates will hover about 25 percent, that those who stay with the projects will not get jobs at any higher rate than those who drop out, and that the majority of jobs will be of the same type that disadvantaged youth always have been able to get. This dismal picture is not intended to reflect on counseling per se—dropout and placement rates are too gross figures to permit a pinpointing of what part of the program is responsible. But it does indicate that the promise of good jobs could not operate as incentives, and that this resource was closed to counselors. Counseling as an activity cannot be expected to replace the functions of incentives.

It was recommended, in the light of the importance of the counseling context, the failure of counseling to function as a substitute for training and job incentives, and the advantages of ad hoc, in situ, and post-placement counseling, that the Department of Labor sponsor an expansion of job development technologies.

Some steps in this direction were suggested: Making placement counseling the function of counselors, thus freeing placement people for job development; establishment of job banks in ES offices; sponsorship of worker cooperatives for work training and placement; provision of incentives to Government contractors for training and hiring disadvantaged youth; provision of incentives or regulations for Government contractors to subcontract to sheltered workshops and other work-training programs serving the disadvantaged.

SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

Many activities which in other contexts were classed as supportive services are here considered as aspects of counseling as a behavior change process.

In some cases, the so-called supportive services (residential experience) provided the settings within which counseling was done. In other cases, such techniques as presenting role models of successful minority group members, or providing opportunities for explorations of the world of work, were the vehicles by means of which agencies attempted to reach counseling goals.

Some supportive services were necessary to permit counseling to occur at all (legal services, health care). Finally, some supportive services were varieties of interventions which functioned as kinds of counseling in their own right, and equally importantly, served as techniques with which the agency demonstrated its commitment to its youth (family intervention, psychotherapy, cultural enrichment, recreation, financial and legal assistance). Indeed, the breakdown of the distinction between counseling (considered as an office activity engaged in through verbal interchange between a counselor and one or more clients) and other activities which contribute to, replace, or enhance counseling effectiveness is one of the major features of the E&D program, and one of its most important achievements.

Under these circumstances it is apparent that many activities traditionally known as supporting services have been dealt with in this report as aspects of counseling and counseling programs (casework, family interventions). Thus all that remains to be discussed in this section are a few services not covered elsewhere, and to describe some needs which emerged from project experience.

RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES

Residential facilities were provided or arranged for three different purposes: To solve the problem of rural geography; correctional; and to provide for homeless or marginally housed clients.

Two projects involved voluntary residence by youth away from home, in project-provided facilities (Pinellas County and NMU).

The provision of housing was designed to be a solution to working with a population which was too thinly distributed over rural areas to support agency centers close to the homes of the youth. In the case of NMU, the residential facilities on a campus were simple extensions of the usual university pattern of providing housing and food service for its students, whereas Pinellas County used the residence as a framework for counseling and for other services designed to change the behavior of the youth. The latter discovered that in fact, many of its youth came to the project as a way of leaving their homes and home communities, rather than out of a desire for job training; few of these youths returned to their homes after the program. Although reports sounded rather put out about this, the value of such a program for encouraging rural youth to migrate to urban centers should be noted.

NMU's program was also designed to encourage migration out of the area, and was similarly unsuccessful. Its contrast to the unintended success of Pinellas County may be a product of the difference between university and nonuniversity sponsorship and facilities, or of cultural differences between Florida and northern Michigan.

Several projects provided housing services for some of their youth. JOBS made arrangements for a small residential unit at a YMCA for those youths who either lacked homes, or whose homes were so disorganized that they needed to move out. The Wise County, Va., project located rooms for trainees without homes. Four other projects (Detroit, CPI, Lorton, ABCD) cited needs to locate or provide living accommodations for some of their youth, ABCD stating it as a need for a halfway house. In addition, Philadelphia JEVS noted that several of its youth had expressed desires to leave their neighborhood gangs but could not do so unless they moved from the neighborhood. Had the project been able to provide living accommodations, some of their youth might in fact have broken away from their gangs. Draper concluded that the location of the housing found for parolees was an important factor in determining the parolee's recreations and friendships, and his resistance to returning to crime.

YOB recommended that institutional arrangements be made for those youth who were brain-damaged, mentally defective, addicted, or otherwise incapable of minimal regulation of their behavior. YOB found these youths so disruptive that they could not be served in YOB's program. However, short of imprisonment or a Synanon-type program, it would probably be found that such youth were even more destructive of a residential program.

In summary, it appeared that residential units were poor solutions to the problems of geographic dispersion of clients. It also was clear that there was need for projects to provide some kinds of housing for some youth, and that the location and kind of such housing might play a role in influencing the youth's participation in delinquent ways of life.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The single most frequently mentioned need in project reports was for funds to be used for small loans to project youth. Detroit, Des Moines, YOB, Temple, NCCY, JOBS, Lorton, and VAS-Altro all mentioned needs for cash loans to their youth, while two other projects (YMCA and KEY) indicated that MDTA allowances were not sufficient for the needs of their youth. Des Moines found that 75 percent of its youth needed loans at one time or another, at an average loan of $20 per youth. These loans were needed to tide the youth over the great delay before MDTA allowances arrived, to provide them with carfare to the project, to job interviews, to work during the first week of employment before a paycheck was received. JOBS used its loan fund to help youths pay bills, catch up on back rent, pay babysitter expenses, buy needed clothing, uniforms for work, eyeglasses, tools required in order to accept an offer of employment. YOB youth needed cash for haircuts. Clothing and carfare needs were the most frequently cited. KEY reports noted that its youths' families were in such desperate need that the MDTA allowances were all used up before such "frills" as clothing could be bought.

At least three projects had loan funds available (Des Moines, NCCY, JOBS). A fourth donated money for clothing when its youth were ready to go to job interviews (VAS-Altro). One project also had a bonding program (JOBS) while another indicated the need for such a program (NH) in order to make youth with delinquency records more acceptable to employers.

Some projects were able to locate funds from private groups for loan purposes. In some projects, the personnel themselves advanced money to their youth (ABCD). Some were able to get cash for clothing and other needed items from departments of welfare for youth eligible for welfare aid. In others, various expedients to solve individual problems were sought: Donations of clothing (KEY); special pleading for the client to finance companies and other creditors (Des Moines); free hot lunches provided by local women's groups (KEY); fare reductions for project youth on public transportation (Des Moines).

The willingness of project personnel to make use of such expedients did much to create the aura of total commitment and "try anything" resourcefulness which characterized the E&D projects. However, relying upon such expedients had many undesirable consequences. The air of emergency action involved, while exhilarating at first, obviously became wearing on project staff, leading to a relatively early "burn-out" of personnel.

LEGAL SERVICES

Several projects found occasion to seek legal aid for some of their youth, and in many projects, personnel made court appearances on behalf of their trainees. NH used donated and low fee lawyers. Hunter's Point included legal services, welfare aid, and police-parole services. YMCA, PAL, Springfield Goodwill, VAS-Altro, JOBS, Des Moines, CPI, and MFY were among those projects in which personnel had contacts with courts, juvenile and parole authorities. Lorton and ABCD reported needs for legal services. The larger projects (MFY, CPI) had the use of legal services as parts of their organization. In others, project staff used their own legal knowledge (often inadequate) or solicited free or inexpensive services from private attorneys in the community or from governmental units.

There was obviously real need for legal services. Poor youth do not have access to lawyers, and while this may no longer be a problem in criminal cases since recent Supreme Court rulings requiring courts to appoint counsel, it is a problem in civil cases and in criminal cases which do not fall under court jurisdiction.

For these reasons one could place the need for legal services second only to the need for loan funds in youth-serving agencies. However, in both cases there is some question as to whether the provision of such supportive services is properly the responsibility of the Department of Labor. The existing model of social services in the United States is one of compartmentalized and bureaucratized agencies. When an E&D project takes up the slack left by the education, welfare, and legal institutions of America, it begins to operate on the alternative model of integrated services for a particular population, rather than the usual model of specialized services for the entire population. The logical extension of such a move to all other population groups would result in massive overlapping and mismatching with the existing organization. The Department of Labor should consider the extent to which it will make explicit such a policy, and thus move toward a fairly fundamental reorganization of social welfare programs on the national level, as part of the Department's long term planning.

HEALTH CARE

Many of the projects reported on the poor physical health of their youth. Des Moines found that 41 percent of its youth had vision impairments; at NCCY 90 percent failed vision tests. Des Moines also found 38 percent of its youth suffering problems of obesity; JOBS found 588 medical problems out of 1,135 youth; VAS-Altro found medical problems in 30 out of 40 trainees, and in the Detroit program, thorough physical examinations showed that 84 percent of the youth had medical problems, most of which would not have been picked up under routine superficial screenings. Sixty percent of those problems were ultimately ascribable to poor nutrition, and the project suggested that the fatigue and poor motivation of disadvantaged youth may be direct symptoms of underlying physical illnesses. JOBS and Philadelphia JEVS noted particular needs for treatment for venereal disease, to which Philadelphia JEVS also added tuberculosis. YOB reported need for tatoo removal and plastic surgery to help its youth appear more socially acceptable to potential employers.

Despite the apparent needs, projects varied widely in what they did about them. Davis Goodwill gave very superficial physical examinations but no treatment, while VAS-Altro, also a sheltered workshop, provided extensive medical workups and treatment. PAL arranged to get eyeglasses for its youth. SSC gave medical and dental assistance, including free teeth-cleaning.

Many of the medical conditions encountered were chronic, nondebilitating, and not markedly influential in determining the youth's ability to get or keep a job. Thus one must question whether the Department of Labor should fill in the gaps left by current inadequate arrangements for providing for health care for all Americans. Most projects did not find existing health agencies (county health departments, welfare departments) useful in providing all the health services required. It would be possible for the Department to take the route of providing funds for health purposes to E&D projects. Or it could build those services into agencies directly (as in France, in which a physician is part of the staff of each ES office). Or, if it were to decide that it is not the appropriate agency for providing needed medical services, or that it did not wish to support the model of integrated services for special populations, the Department could instead support or sponsor legislation which would extend or amplify present health care programs.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

Two projects (JOBS and CPI) had formal arrangements for providing psychotherapy for those youth showing evidences of severe personality disorders. In the case of CPI, the arrangements were free, with the therapy provided for a limited number of cases at the local Veterans Administration Hospital. JOBS retained a private firm in group practice to provide consultations and individual therapy. Several other projects made referrals to community agencies: Des Moines recommended psychiatric evaluation (but apparently not treatment) for 40 percent of its youth, on the basis of MMPI test results; PAL, Philadelphia JEVS, and VAS-Altro referred their youth to other agencies. However, YMCA reported a need for psychiatric consultation, and Pinellas County found that local agencies were too busy to take its youth.

The experience of the Pinellas County program and of YMCA was that community facilities for psychotherapy are too limited to be able to meet the needs of the projects. Perhaps funds might be made available to E&D projects to pay for psychotherapeutic services through the kind of arrangement made by JOBS with private practitioners.

RECREATION

Several projects provided some recreational facilities for their youth (Pinellas County, NMU, CPI, MFY, Lane County, NCCY, YOB, PAL), though most of these were limited and relatively inactive in nature (pool tables, table tennis, lounges). Some also sponsored team sports, excursions, and the like. Often these activities were combined with cultural enrichment activities (trips to museums, theaters, music and art fairs, tourist sites). Most projects found their budgets and staffs too limited for effective use. Pinellas County suffered a space shortage, and KEY had to carve up its recreational space into offices. KEY and YMCA used local YMCA facilities for recreation.

Lane County found that its public image was hurt by its recreation facilities. The public objected to seeing youth on MDTA allowances, ostensibly being prepared for public employment, spending their time at pool tables in the project quarters. SSC, on the other hand, felt that its use of a sports league and such extracurricular activities as a jazz band were helpful in giving the community exposure to its youth, and in giving its youth greater contact with the community outside the ghetto.

Some recreational programs had other values. YOB used youth entertainments as a means of attracting youths to the project. PAL used social clubs as the context for social group work, and Temple organized group recreations to help the trainees form a group identity. NCCY used recreations to develop leadership skills. In several projects, youth participated in planning their own recreations, with all the counseling values such planning participation entails (NMU, PAL, YOB).

Recreation generally was considered an absolute good, and some opportunities for recreation were necessary for youth who spend significant amounts of time in project facilities. However, the amount and type of recreation to be provided should be a function of the purposes it is to serve in the particular program. It appeared from project reports that there were only a few cases in which the role of recreation in project goals was clearly assessed, or in which recreations were used selectively to contribute to those goals.

CULTURAL ENRICHMENT

Several projects included cultural enrichment programs, in which youth were exposed to some of the institutions and experiences with which ghetto dwellers typically have no contact. These included museum visits, excursions to a beach, to the theater, to baseball games, to local universities. YMCA took its clients to tourist sites around New York; YOB had an elaborate enrichment program including visits to a university.

The assumption underlying the elaboration of cultural enrichment programs in employability-development agencies is that poor youth lack knowledge, much less appreciation, of cultural resources, and that these lacks leave their lives poorer and them less able to respond appropriately to those situations in which such knowledge is relevant. Such situations presumably arise at work, and a youth's lack of knowledge of things which middle class people take for granted makes the youth appear more stupid than he is.

YMCA's visitation program also had the goal of familiarizing the boys with the New York public transportation system, so that they would be more willing and able to take jobs outside the immediate neighborhood. YOB's program also functioned as an aid to project recruiting, to attract youth to the project.

Like recreation, cultural enrichment is an absolute good. Such programs attempt to replace some aspects of the secondary education which poor youth have rejected. However, it is possible to question the extent to which such programs contribute to employability, and to discover how elaborate a program is required to raise employability by measureable amounts.

IMAGE-BUILDING

Closely allied to cultural enrichment programs, and in some cases identical to them, were programs specifically designed to affect the youth's images of themselves as people with a history, a culture, and a role in the world which is of value. Obviously, such image-building was directed primarily at minority group membership (although of course all youth are members of a minority) and assumed the value of cultural diversity. Image-building programs included such activities as Negro History Week, Negro art fairs, Mexican folk dancing (YOB), grooming and beauty clinics (YOB, Temple).

The presumed values of such activities in enhancing self-concepts and in building pride and self-confidence were further enhanced by involving the youth directly in the planning and execution of the activities and events. Thus image-building projects had both counseling and educational values, with all the learnings implied in the opportunity for youth to cooperate and effectively produce something of recognized and real value. Such projects had the added advantage of providing for good community exposure in a format which enhanced the community's appreciation and respect for the youth who planned and carried out the event.

As with other supportive activities, there was much room for valid research to document the claimed values of image-building programs. Before and after studies of self-concept changes and of community attitudes could be managed easily within the context of ongoing project activities.

ROLE MODELS

Both explicitly and implicitly many projects arranged to provide their youth with contact with people who could serve as role models. These arrangements ranged from bringing famous people to the project who had begun life in poverty, or famous people of the same ethnic or racial backgrounds as the trainees, to role models closer to home: skilled workers from the youth's communities, or project staff of the same racial-ethnic background, or visits from successful former trainees. YOB brought Negro businessmen, entertainers, and sports figures to the project. PAL and MFY used successful former trainees. Temple got successful Negro women to talk to the girls. Draper, a prison project, brought successful community leaders who were ex-convicts. St. Louis JEVS hired two black basketball stars as summer employees to help in counseling, recruiting, job development, and public relations. All projects employed staff members from minority groups; Pinellas County noted that it was the first time that many of its youth had ever had contact with an educated professional Negro. YMCA employed skilled Negroes as its instructors.

Role models seemed to serve three functions. Inspirational models were those which tried to raise the aspiration levels of youth by showing them the extent to which it is possible to be successful. Educational models served as exemplars of behaviors which the youth could imitate. In a sense, the former served a motivational purpose, while the latter served to produce learning. The third function, propaganda, was served by using prestige figures with whom the youth were expected to identify to deliver messages which the project would like the youth to accept. In many cases this third function was amalgamated with inspirational functions.

None of the project reports reflected well thought-out programing of role models beyond a fairly superficial use of the concept of identification. As a result, no project appeared to have used role models to maximum advantage, except perhaps YMCA.

TRANSPORTATION

Many projects had transportation problems. When KEY was unable to develop a residential facility, it turned to busing youth into the project from the hollows, but had to use U.S. Government Services Administration-supplied buses which were so unreliable as to seriously handicap the project. YOB and NH reported needs for transportation around town, to bring youth to the projects and to job sites. Des Moines arranged for reduced fares on public transportation to help its youth report for training.

JOBS rented transportation to take youth to new jobs; other projects hoped for driver training to enable youth to get to the project site, to go for job interviews, and to go to work when placed (YMCA, YOB, NH, Lorton, SSC, NCCY, MFY, and New Jersey OEO). However, resources for providing driver education were limited, with the projects often relying on volunteers. In two projects, there were reports of training youth for jobs which they then could not accept because they lacked drivers' licenses (Lorton, YMCA). In both cases, youth were trained as auto mechanics, but could not work at such since they could not drive cars.

However, driver training is apparently not the complete answer, even in Los Angeles, which has only the most limited public transportation system. YOB found that the cars its boys had available to drive were such broken-down wrecks that they could not be relied on to bring them to work on time; yet the alternative was for the boys to buy better cars at outrageous interest rates and thus become the victims of loan sharks.

BABYSITTING

Second only to transportation problems as a roadblock to effective utilization of E&D project resources by poor youth was the need for babysitting services. Several projects indicated that they lost many female youth because satisfactory arrangements could not be made for taking care of their infants while they were in training (VAS-Altro, Temple, JOBS). The latter provided loans to pay for babysitting, while CPI had a day care center. For those projects large enough to provide for day care, such an arrangement was the best so far as keeping the girls in the project. It might also be noted that such a center could serve as a job training site for child care workers (teacher aides, nursery assistants, practical child nursing). For smaller projects, it was appropriate for the project to arrange a contract with a local public or private nursery to provide day care services for the clients' infants and children at a fixed fee to the E&D project. As a last resort, providing funds for private babysitters should be permitted, although this arrangement was poorer than contracting child care services from some community resource.

SUMMARY

The supportive services dealt with in this report generally are those concerned with the general health, welfare, and happiness of the trainees, and those which functioned to enhance the availability of project resources to disadvantaged youth. The discussion of role models falls into neither group, but is included here because of the close connection between the use of role models and cultural enrichment and image-building activities.

To some extent, these supportive services are provided because of the failures of other social institutions to perform their functions adequately (notably health, welfare, and education). Others are provided because of demonstrated needs in the youth for which no other institutions exist (notably loan funds and legal services). Still others are recognized as social goods (cultural enrichment, image-building, recreation). Whether their presence or absence affects a project's ability to enhance employability in its clients has not been empirically demonstrated; their status as social goods validates their existence.

That status means that such supportive services cannot be evaluated solely by reference to empirical data, for even if they did not contribute measurably to employability, they still might be considered desirable services. Thus their evaluation is in the realm of Department of Labor policy. It is therefore suggested that the Department state clearly its policies regarding such services, so that they need no longer be smuggled in under the guise of increasing employability. Under that subterfuge they are subject to empirical validation that would not only be irrelevant, but could also be damaging.

However, even with the sanction of such a policy, some limits on the amount of project resources to be devoted to such activities as cultural enrichment and image-building, compared to those devoted directly to training, job development, and placement, ought to be established.

If the Labor Department decides against sanctioning such activities by declared policy, an alternative would be to locate E&D projects in which such supportive services are appropriate and desirable in agencies which possess the capabilities for providing such services from funding sources other than MDTA. It might be effective for the Department of Labor to share support for such projects with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. However, in that case, an interdepartmental group should be formed to write and sign such joint contracts, rather than require projects to make application to two separate funding agencies with competing and incompatible demands. Such a group should have budget guidelines from its respective departments, and be charged with total authority and responsibility for funding and evaluating projects, in order to avoid the interminable delays involved in referring contracts to two distinct authorities for approval—delays which under the present arrangement appear inevitable, and for some projects, disastrously crippling.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE E&D POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

As the author stated in the beginning, this report concerns itself with several levels of interpretation of the effectiveness of E&D project efforts to discover some new directions for dealing with the unemployment problems of disadvantaged youth.

At the lowest level, it sought to describe major features of assessment, counseling, and supportive services for these youth, and it attempted to identify new knowledges and techniques which represent innovations in working with them.

Ultimately, these two levels lead to a consideration of the characteristics and productivity of the E&D contract program as it has been operating since its authorization by Congress in 1962. One looks backward in preparing such a report, but failure to look both ways can be as debilitating to the historian as to the pedestrian. Thus the focus of evaluation has been on implications for future E&D policies, programs and plans.

PROJECT INITIATION

The Manpower Administration should shift its stance from one of encouraging service agencies and organizations to submit proposals to one of sponsoring projects whose major function is innovation, testing programs through practical application, demonstration to operating agencies, generation of hypotheses to be empirically tested, and identification of areas in which knowledge relevant to agency practice is required. Such a policy would be more compatible with exercise of its control over projects which would permit the coordinated testing of programs in good vs. poor job market areas, in rural vs. urban centers, using professional vs. nonprofessional manpower, with and without image-building supportive services. The period of random tryingout of ideas, based on local initiative, should be ended as no longer fruitful in the absence of more definitive tests of efficacy.

1. The Manpower Administration should require proposals for E&D contracts to be specific in language and intention. Project proposals should not only include the statements that "new techniques" will be tried, but should specify the nature of those to be attempted, the nature of the evidence which would be sufficient to validate or invalidate the continued use of the technique, the approximate limits of the time period within which the approach will be tried, and the alternatives should the approach be invalidated.

2. The level of planning recommended requires that the Manpower Administration provide projects with funds for program development, pilot testing, and feasibility study before full-scale operating funds are obligated. This requires some method of obligating funds for more than 1 year, such as that used by the National Institutes of Health (NIH).

3. Agencies should be required by the Manpower Administration to have training and placement resources in advance of operation which go beyond a statement of capacity for development of such resources. These should include commitments to develop and probably to operate training programs, and commitments to employ project-referred youth.

4. The Manpower Administration should not sponsor programs in which work experience training is conducted by agencies over which the project has no supervisory control, or in which special training of the supervisors involved has not been included.

5. Project proposals should include detailed plans and schedules for phasing out the project at the termination of the contract procedure, with a firm set of deadlines for the steps involved, the plans to become operative at a set date in advance of contract expiration if firm commitment of further funding has not yet been received by then.

6. The Manpower Administration should acquire panels of consultants to review and evaluate project proposals, and to advise it on such matters as feasibility, capability of the agency for the project, and validity of the proposed procedures.

PROJECT OPERATIONS

The Manpower Administration should require periodic standards reports from all projects, using common definitions of such matters as placement records, etc. These reports should include followup data on lengths of placements, wages received, etc., as well as descriptions of processes (e.g., assessment techniques, counseling procedures, etc.).

1. The Manpower Administration should make available to projects independent consultants to pay periodic visits to the projects to engage in training, advising, and consultation with project staff. It should be clearly understood by the consultants, contractors, and the agency itself that such consultants will play no part in evaluating projects or in making decisions regarding funding or contract renewal.

2. The Manpower Administration staff should be expanded to enable it to provide adequate supervision of the extent to which contractors fulfill contract obligations. It should also have available independent (i.e., consultative) experts for advice on technical matters concerning assessment, research, counseling, behavior modification, etc.

3. Arrangements should be made for permitting projects to phase in youth at less than full time, with MDTA allowances proportionately reduced for these youth not ready for full-time participation. Projects should also have the capability for rewarding good performance by raising allowances of trainees at various points in their training careers.

4. Project sponsorship should include and demand followup counseling after placement, and career-development activities.

5. The Manpower Administration should provide projects with funds for loans to trainees, and for the purchase of supportive services (e.g., medical and dental care, legal aid, bonding, purchase of clothing, haircuts, provision of transportation, babysitting, etc.).

6. Residential facilities should be provided when needed, but in such a manner as to avoid project responsibility for and interference in private aspects of client lives not connected with employability. Suitable arrangements would include rental of YMCA rooms, rooming and boarding houses, and other independently operated public accommodations.

7. Mobile teams are preferable to residential centers for rural populations, except where the aim of the project is urbanization. In the latter case, projects should be located in the urban areas which would serve as suitable relocation goals for the youth.

POLICIES

A clear policy should be devised concerning the meaning of experimentation and demonstration. Projects should be funded on the basis of capability for developing, trying, and assessing innovational program features, and for applying social science knowledge in agency settings. In addition:

1. The Manpower Administration should shift some of its resources from support of projects concerned directly with counseling and assessment to those concerned with experimentation and demonstration of job development techniques.

2. Legislation and/or administrative arrangements should be sought whereby a single authority may be responsible for funding and overseeing project operation and its associated training. This body should have the authority to provide all the necessary approvals and clearances now required from State and Federal educational authorities, and State and Federal Employment Services.

3. The Manpower Administration should develop its capability for producing and distributing relevant program materials to E&D and operating agencies.

4. Legislation should be sought to prevent discrimination by unions in apprenticeship training programs and in union membership.

5. The Manpower Administration should expand the availability of vocational training in apprentice trades.

6. Long-range plans should be initiated for the expansion of accessibility to vocational training on a national scale. Such expansion requires resources beyond those available to school systems, should include the resources of industry, and should be predicated on the principle that the methods of training must be adaptable to the needs and capacities of the trainees, rather than on the notion of eligibility and suitability of trainees for invariant training methods. Test criteria of admissability to training, such as GATB scores, should be abandoned.

7. Steps should be taken to modify those civil service and merit system procedures which discriminate against the disadvantaged.

8. The Manpower Administration should develop national resources for producing, organizing, and communicating program-relevant research on manpower and manpower services. These resources should include adequately financed research laboratories or centers, independent of direct Federal control, but intimately associated with E&D and other operating agencies. Such research centers would best operate through the construction of a defined set of priorities in researchable questions over a 10-year period, with annual review of progress toward the decennial objectives.

9. The sheltered workshop format for employability development should be encouraged. The capability and efficiency of such programs would be enhanced if staff time did not have to be devoted to soliciting subcontracts from manufacturers, and if such programs could offer trainees a variety of work tasks which go beyond the most simple routine ones.

10. The requirement that young school dropouts be out of school for 1 year to be eligible for MDTA training pay and allowances is nonfunctional and should be abandoned.

11. The Manpower Administration should seek legislation which would extend Medicare to recipients of MDTA training allowances and their dependents.

RESEARCH

Review of project reports concerning assessment, counseling, and supportive services suggests that the Manpower Administration should support the following research as immediately relevant to project and operating agency programs.

1. Replication of Federal Department Stores project in similar and in other industries. Recent action by Ford Motor Co. in eliminating selection tests suggests an opportunity to validate the hypothesis that after a suitable period of training and experience, workers who would not have passed the test perform as well as those who would have.

2. Development, standardization, and validation of a shortform reading test.

3. Development, standardization, and validation of an arithmetic test with norms based on needs for amount and type of mathematical-computational skills required in various entry-level occupations.

4. Development of a picture vocational interest test.

5. Empirical research on the generality of "work habits" and "work role skills" in disadvantaged youth, and the extent to which such responses are affected by levels and types of work incentives in disadvantaged compared to nondisadvantaged youth.

6. Experimental comparison among four program orders: work-role (prevocational) training before skill training; work-role training concurrent with skill training; skill training without associated work-role training; and skill training followed by work-role training.

7. Development, standardization, and validation of work sample testing, to include: samples of tasks requiring the same psychomotor and cognitive skills but differing in the industries in which the tasks are used; independent scores for work skills and for area of interest (in terms of industry type); comparison of experienced and inexperienced workers on the tasks; uncontaminated evaluations of the predictive validity of scores; and acceptability of work sample scores to employers.

8. Experimental comparisons of disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged youth regarding differential effects on work performance of changes in incentive levels, and in responsiveness to achievement, money, and social approval incentives (rewards).

9. Research on the validity of youth's self-assessments of job readiness compared to agency's assessment, including comparison of project-sponsored and unsponsored disadvantaged youth in placement and job tenure rates, and on placement success of those who refuse counseling and training compared to those who accept project services other than placement.

10. Comparison of three alternative models of service delivery: staff specialization (separate intake, counseling, placement, and followup staffs); staff generalization (single counselor performs all services to client, following same client through from intake to followup); nonprofessional facilitator-intermediary who follows client through from intake to followup, mediating client contact with staff specialists.

11. Comparison of placement and job tenure rates of youth accompanied to job interviews and actively sponsored to potential employers with those of unaccompanied or unsponsored youth.

12. Comparison of work effectiveness on a "criterial" task following a series of training tasks, in which programed reinforcers or rewards are made contingent upon increasingly high standards and precision of performance, with and without a final period of permissiveness regarding performance standards.

13. Research on lateness, absence from training, and missing of interview appointments, to evaluate the extent to which such nonparticipation is a result of poor time sense, lack of clocks or watches, a response to anticipated failure, related to the quality of the job, to age of the youth, to relevance of the activity to competence in good-paying jobs; comparison of no-show rates in employment interviews of disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged youths and adults.

14. Development of a reliable, easily used form of rating schedule for rating disadvantaged youth in work experience training, usable with high reliability by subprofessional supervisors, and involving clear criteria for the ratings.

AGENCY ADMINISTRATION

1. Agencies serving the disadvantaged require larger administrative staffs and budgets than similar agencies serving nondisadvantaged populations.

2. Agencies should be funded on the basis of the extent to which their clients are disadvantaged, with the funds per case increasing along with the severity of the client's disadvantage. This would encourage agencies to continue to serve the difficult and most needy clients, instead of drifting toward those who are easier to place.

3. Agency structures should not be so rigid and compartmentalized that they impede needed changes in the agency's operations. To facilitate openness to change, staff functions should not be rigidly divided along the lines of professional groups.

4. Work loads and operations should be arranged so that there is no tendency to cut corners by reducing, postponing, or rushing the preparation of clients for testing. Apparently this function is particularly apt to be slighted or forgotten.

5. The same is true of followup. Operations and recordkeeping should be structured so that there is no tendency to consider a case closed, even provisionally, because the youth was placed on an entry-level job. Clear criteria for closing a case should be developed and used, so that .counselors are not tempted or permitted to forget about placed youth for whom counseling directed at job retention and upgrading would be appropriate.

6 Agencies should have a structure for regular monitoring of their own activities in order to detect needs and opportuinties for improving their services and gage the extent to which they are successful. This requires sampling the placement and job tenure rates of nonproject youth in the community from time to time.

7. Agencies should have access to legal, civil service, welfare, and civil rights experts, rather than rely on their own knowledge in these areas.

experimental and demonstration programs

basic education

Patricia Cayo Sexton

breakthrough for disadvantaged youth

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BASIC EDUCATION

This paper deals with experiences with basic education in the experimental and demonstration (E&D) youth projects funded by the Manpower Administration (MA).

Under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA), those charged with channeling the unemployed to jobs and meeting skill shortages by means of occupational training soon found that many of the unemployed were unsuited for this training. They had no foundation on which to build.

Also, under the E&D program, which had to discover ways of aiding those who had been largely written off as untrainable and unemployable, it was found early that the ability to read easily, figure confidently, and take tests well are essential ingredients in the acquisition of work skills and jobs.

Consequently, Congress amended the MDTA in December 1963 to allow a frontal attack on the problem by providing instruction in basic education within the scope of the act. An additional 20 weeks of training allowances were made available to eligible persons for basic education.

A policy statement was issued in February 1964 by the Department of Labor's Manpower Administrator to guide basic education under MDTA. Basic education was defined as "elementary education, usually in the general areas of reading, writing, language skills, and arithmetic." Such education was to be "oriented to the work habits usually expected by employers . . . and the development of constructive attitudes and motivations concerning self and work." The purpose of such education was to "provide each individual with training which will enable him to achieve whatever performance level in basic educational skills is commensurate with his general ability and aptitudes so long as it will qualify him to enter, progress in, and complete suitable occupational training within the time available under the Act."

Under the E&D program a battery of manpower techniques was used to reach disadvantaged youth, basic education being only one of them. Other parts of the program were: outreach, vocational assessment, counseling, prevocational and vocational training, job development and placement. Education was assumed to be an important part of this battery because of the poorly developed reading and computation skills found among trainees, and the meaning of education for the individual's job future.

Although many of the trainees were high school graduates, many of them performed poorly on basic education tests. The Chicago Job Opportunities through Better Skills JOBS project, for example, initially tested more than 1,500 youth and found that, while they had attended school an average of 10 years, they were able to read and calculate only at the sixth grade level. The Detroit Mayor's Youth Employment Project (MYEP) reported that nearly 85 percent of its 520 trainees were high school graduates—but their reading level was eighth grade.

The term "basic education" is defined in various ways, but it is customarily applied to training in reading, writing and computational skills up to the sixth, or in some cases the ninth, grade. For our purpose, however, we will broaden the scope of inquiry and include in our analysis all education in E&D projects that attempted to teach reading, writing, and computational skills, at whatever level. Two types of efforts were common to these projects: (1) To teach the illiterate and semi-literate simple reading skills, and (2) to prepare other students for high school equivalency and advanced job qualifying examinations. In between were scattered efforts to raise literacy levels among trainees. In some projects efforts were made to interest students in higher education and community colleges.

The data on which this analysis is based were derived from three principal sources: (1) Review of reports submitted to the Department of Labor by E&D projects; (2) on-site visits to eight projects; (3) review of the reported progress and experiences of other types of projects.

E&D programs were often conducted outside the instructional manpower and training agencies—in Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA's), neighborhood centers, sheltered workshops and an array of private, nonprofit counseling and training agencies.

Projects visited were in North Richmond, Calif.; Eugene, Ore.; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Boston, Mass.; Syracuse, N.Y.; and two in New York City—Mobilization for Youth in Manhattan (MFY), and the YMCA Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth and Work project in Brooklyn.

The principal limitation of the analysis is the absence of any formal means of evaluating the methods, materials and approaches of the various projects. Data produced by controlled experimentation were not available in any complete or usable form. Few efforts were made to test the effectiveness of specific methods and materials. In addition, much ambiguity existed about specific educational goals, or the relation of these goals to job training and placement. Moreover, these projects have worked with different populations and job markets and are, therefore, not always comparable. Project work was with different age groups, sexes, and races under varying conditions. As a result, the various approaches used cannot be judged with any scientific precision although much knowledge was gained about the relative usefulness to basic education.

An examination of this experience can lead to some tentative conclusions as well as hypotheses for further experimentation and demonstration. When agreement is found among those who have worked closely with the projects about the success and failure of various approaches, such conclusions can legitimately be used as a guide to future programs.

Project reports, however, often are limited by conflicting experiences of participants, and by the interruption of program continuity due to high personnel turnover.

In addition, it is impossible to judge how much the basic education component contributed to job placement of manpower by the E&D projects. It is, for example, quite possible to have successful job placement without conducting any basic education at all. Similarly, it is possible to conduct an "ideal" basic education program and yet fail in job placement, or even in making trainees more employable.

A review of project components shows that the experiences of the past may not be relevant to the future in all cases. Significant changes in the job market, such as occur during war years, require different approaches to job training. Programs which were suitable to periods when jobs were scarce, and employers highly selective, may not be at all suitable during periods of extreme labor shortage. When labor is in short supply, lengthy institutional training in basic education and vocational skills may not be necessary or desirable. Youth then may enter suitable jobs without difficulty and may be upgraded either on the job or after working hours. Emphasis in training may then shift to on-the-job programs. Chicago's JOBS project was one of the first to test this hypothesis.

In order to insure that these people are not at a competitive disadvantage when the job market changes, it is important that they be provided with basic education tools.

SPECIFIC PROJECT ACTIVITIES

This is a summary of the basic education activities conducted in six of the eight E&D youth projects visited. All projects were engaged in providing educational and vocational training and job placement for trainees. Five of the projects were in large cities, all dealing with dominantly or exclusively Negro populations. A trend was found in these five to move away from the hard-core male toward instruction of young mothers with dependent children. Only the Oregon project dealt mainly with hard-core, nonurban males, almost all of them white.

NORTH RICHMOND, CALIF.

Neighborhood House

Neighborhood House, like many other job upgrading projects, began with a population of hard-core and delinquent youths, in one of the poorest and toughest communities in the San Francisco area. But because of the changing job markets and preferences and decisions of community and staff, the project has increasingly taken on a population of more upwardly mobile females.

The project reports that basic education is successful only when related to particular civil service tests or job applications. About 25 percent of the time of instructional staff is spent on preparation for civil service exams and high school equivalency tests. All staff members seem agreed that preparation for specific exams has been the most successful part of the instructional program.

It is felt that an exam, such as the one used in New York State, providing the elementary school equivalent of the High School General Educational Development Test (GED), is very much needed. For many trainees the GED is too difficult and remote to offer realistic educational incentives. For these an elementary or junior high school diploma would be more appropriate.

Since employers in the area often use tests from the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) in hiring, it was felt by some that trainees ought to be prepared for them. Others felt that such tests were too middle class and tended to alienate many trainees.

A simple dittoed two-page arithmetic test and a somewhat lengthier mimeographed reading test were devised by project staff for administration to entering trainees. Various mimeographed exercises for the GED and job exams also were developed by staff. Students interested in taking any of these tests worked on these exercises, submitting them to the instructor for periodic review and guidance.

Small group tutoring was much more successful than traditional classroom instruction.

Education in small doses with small groups of three to six students was recommended. It was noted that these small groups were more productive than a one-to-one relationship between teacher and student.

Teachers who developed significant relationships with trainees and used the peer group to advantage were able to teach skills and subject matter which trainees otherwise might have resisted. It was emphasized that developing a good personal relationship between instructor and students was essential to keeping students involved in class work, solving their learning problems, and counteracting fear of failure.

Many trainees were encouraged to enroll in regular adult education courses. A group of community workers was hired from among those completing the GED and other instructional programs, thus providing incentives to learning, and more highly trained community leaders.

The project found that, in general, the two biggest problems of trainees were: (1) Low basic education skills, and (2) low motivation and lack of confidence in their ability to get jobs and "fit in."

It was found that girls were much more willing than boys to go to school and accept tutoring. Boys tended to feel some loss of face in attending classes and many devised excuses for not doing so. The best instruction for boys, it was found, was a classroom setting as informal and directly job-centered as possible.

One key staff member reported that considerable conflict had existed between professional and nonprofessional staff, and that local people, working as nonprofessionals, had become hostile and negative toward both trainees and professionals.

A testing program was introduced because it was found that trainees could not perform well on jobs to which they were referred. The Gray reading test was used at first but a shorter project-devised test was later substituted.

Instructors used and liked the graded reading series published by Science Research Associates (SRA), and felt that it had good questions on reading comprehension and was both adult and simple. *Reader's Digest* publications were also used, as was Shea's *Working with Numbers.*

Students complained about being in school without getting official credit for it. Also, some were reluctant to take home notebooks, texts or other materials because codes of behavior among neighborhood youth discouraged any visible show of studiousness.

DETROIT, MICH.

Mayor's Youth Employment Project

The MYPE was initiated by the mayor as a delinquency program.

Complete physical examinations were given all students and necessary medical care provided. Nutritionists then taught trainees how to prepare balanced meals, and milk was distributed instead of soft drinks. Eyeglasses were provided if needed. It is believed that many trainees had been functioning at about 25 percent of physical capacity.

The project's philosophy includes: (1) Close staff-student relations; (2) generation of student-identity with the program; (3) use of programed and individualized instruction; (4) student choice and involvement when possible.

The intention was to keep the institutional unit small and create something rather more like a club than a classroom. Four units of 250 trainees, for example, were preferred to one unit of 1,000 trainees. Despite poor facilities and equipment, the program reported good morale and close personal relations among participants.

Classes and materials used were presumably directly related to job training. In the first year, teachers served as work-education coordinators, teaching half the day and supervising vestibule training in public jobs the other half. In the second year these two functions were separated—teacher and work coordinator—and filled by different people. Since it was then more difficult for two people to form an intimate relationship with the trainees, this arrangement proved to be much less satisfactory. It also became more difficult for the basic education teacher to provide work-related instruction.

Instruction is conducted with a view to what employers want. Specific employers are contacted to discover what knowledge and skill they look for in employees, and efforts are made to meet these standards. Training in elementary math is provided for those wishing to qualify for the Great Lakes Steel hiring exam.

All shop classes now offer English instruction in connection with work performed. Students learn by a combination of doing and reading. In the clerical course there is no teaching of grammar or formal English. Students are encouraged to read, write and speak, and to indulge in free, rather than assigned reading.

In regular English courses, students are asked to write two pages each day and entries may be copied. Students who copied soon became bored and started to write their own entries. One student began to copy poetry and then turned to composing her own. The volume *Look, See and Write,* which asks students to write about what they see, was found to be useful and successful. The project education director is much impressed with the volume *Hooked on Books,* Morton Shaevitz and Daniel N. Fader, University of Michigan Press. This volume outlines a program which involves youth in voluntary book reading. Among other things, students in the program choose paperback books, use a popular dictionary, and keep a regular journal with entries of two to five pages every week.

It is believed by project staff that "affective" learning is more important for trainees than "cognitive" learning, and that the second is possible only in the presence of the first. Learning is believed to depend on the formation of a significant relationship with an adult staff member. Successful job placement is believed to depend far more on the formation of such a relationship than on skills actually learned in training. Full staff meetings are held once a week for 2 or 3 hours at which time the progress of individual students is discussed.

It is felt, and repeatedly stated, that the race of teachers does not matter. It is by no means clear, from the experience of the project, that this is true, since it was pointed out that one of the most effective teachers is a very young Negro nonprofessional with whom students can closely identify. In dealing with a virtually all-Negro student body it would seem highly desirable to have a sizable Negro staff. This does not suggest that Negroes be selected without respect to ability to perform. It does suggest that what may be artificial "qualifications" standards should not be used, in effect, to exclude Negroes, and that a balanced staff is preferable to a segregated one.

In the first year of this project the public schools chose to play no role in its operation. After the first year's success, vocational education instructors in the schools persuaded the board of education to take over the project. This resulted in the separation of teacher and work coordinator. It meant that the Board then supplied all teachers, selected on the basis of formal credentials, and it meant that supplies had to be ordered a semester in advance, as is customary in the schools. It was reported, however, that the schools were in general quite cooperative, and that they had adopted some of the E&D innovations.

The project's director feels that the choice of vocational education curriculums is made too early in the schools, and that all students should take a high school program in which many vocations are explored. He points out that Project Talent (University of Pittsburgh national study) discovered that 75 percent of all students changed their vocational goals one year after high school.

EUGENE, OREG.

Lane County Youth Project

The Lane County Youth project was unique because trainees were almost exclusively white and rural. Sixty percent of those enrolled in basic education classes were reading at the ninth grade level or above. In general the basic education experiences were not satisfactory in the first year of the program. Many trainees did not need it and those who did resisted attending classes. Some preparation was given for the GED.

One of the most promising experiments was with the use of volunteer tutors from the University of Oregon. These met with trainees on a one-to-one basis at their training site and worked on remediation in reading and arithmetic, using materials related to the specific training being given.

The project quickly abandoned its original highly structured program, with specified activities and scheduling, in favor of a looser one dealing with prevocational needs of trainees. It was felt that the program had to be more closely adapted to the real needs and interests of trainees and that participants had to be more involved in the planning and operation of the program.

The project had no control over the basic education component. The public schools operated it. Remedial programs were structured in the traditional way and classes could not be started without 15 or 20 persons. Suitable materials were not used. Teachers were not able to work with alienated youth who did not like school.

Sixty percent of the trainees were alienated from both peers and adults and it was felt that these students needed—more than anything else—experience with success.

When students were used as aides, they responded quite differently and came to sense some ability to influence events and make decisions. It was concluded that the aides needed more than the daily discussion with the teacher concerning schedule. They needed training in such specific skills as typing and machine operation.

The most successful teacher was said to be a vocational education instructor who did not have a college degree. He identified with trainees and was quick to verbalize aggression. The final examination he gave required trainees to take apart a small gas engine and then reassemble it.

In general it was felt that trainees liked to perform hard but real tasks, particularly those dealing with machinery. They wanted to learn by doing and would read in order to accomplish a task. They also would read after successful accomplishment.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Job Opportunities Through Better Skills

The JOBS Program emphasized the innovative process itself, and actively encouraged staff to be experimental.

JOBS I[1] provided, in its first phase, 6 weeks of basic education before moving trainees into vocational areas. It was found much easier to keep trainee attention when education was related to specific vocational training.

Almost all teachers were from the public schools. It was felt that successful instruction depended on teacher interest in trainees as individuals. Serious status conflict existed between instructors and counselors.

In testing trainees, the High School Essential Content Battery was administered in three sessions to determine achievement levels. The revised Beta IQ tests and Stanford Intermediate Achievement Test Battery in reading and arithmetic were used for all students. Trainees tested below the sixth-grade levels in both reading and arithmetic. The Language Master of Bell and Howell (a record playback machine for remediation of oral language) and the Educational Development Laboratories (EDL) programs were used successfully. The EDL filmstrips were introduced late in the program and it was found to be most effective when teachers maintained personal rapport with students and when not too much solitary written work was required.

One of the teachers prepared a fairly thorough syllabus of Negro history which served as a guide for other instructors in presenting Negro history meaningfully to the trainees, and in placing it in proper perspective within American history. Project staff reported that this course of social studies in the program seemed to have an excellent effect on the personal growth of the trainees, the majority of whom were Negro.

In the JOBS II project teachers were at the center of the program and they were asked to change old methods that might remind trainees of the public school atmosphere. Trainee participation in planning methods and materials of instruction was encouraged. Guidance was given to teachers by a director of curriculums.

Because basic education in the JOBS I program turned out to be too traditional, it was decided to conduct experiments with five different approaches: (1) Work with oral language; (2) work with games and problem solving; (3) reading with texts; (4) EDL programed material (the Tach-X and Skill Builder projective machines); (5) vocational units using a variety of ways to bring education and vocational training together.

It appeared that a combination of the oral and problem-solving approaches offered the best basic education for trainees because they require active participation in the learning process. The SRA reading series was used, but it was found that trainees easily became bored with it.

One highly successful reading class permitted trainees to read books of their own choice. Experience in this program indicated that trainees were not really hostile to reading, only to traditional methods of instruction. Nonprofessional group workers served in the classroom as aides, tutored in class and out, replaced the teacher during absences, and formed close relationships with the students. The program began with a platoon system, then changed to self-contained classrooms, with a marked improvement in trainee morale. Again, trainees were able to relate to one person in the self-contained room. In solving reading problems, a linguistic approach appeared to be most successful.

NEW YORK CITY

Mobilization for Youth

In Manhattan's MFY project, most trainees were at the fourth grade level in reading and somewhat higher in math. After intake, trainees were assigned 15 hours a week in either a work crew or sheltered workshop, and 15 hours in basic education.

At first, the education component was voluntary for trainees and this approach was not too successful. When pay for school attendance was added, students began to attend classes. Later, the basic education component was moved from the classroom to the work site, apparently with more success. Aims of this program included ways to develop new methods and materials for conducting basic education on the work site, and to test the efficacy of using crew chiefs as auxiliary teaching personnel.

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[1] JOBS, the Chicago E&D project, is not to be confused with the national JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector) Program started in 1968.

Because of the turnover of staff from MFY's original staff, it was difficult to obtain information about past experiences. Both a tutorial program and a project which trained parents of students in techniques of reading were reported to have worked well.

It was reported also that conflict had developed between teachers and counselors with the latter believing that the former did "too much counseling." Eight of the 10 teachers were women, all of them college graduates but few with certification for teaching. None were specialists in remedial or language instruction. The project hoped to use local men as teacher-aides.

Growing to some extent out of E&D experience, plans were made by a new MFY education director to develop several operations in basic education, including a language workshop for non-English speaking trainees and a communications skills workshop for persons with serious reading deficiencies.

YMCA Bedford-Stuyvesant Project

Perhaps the most innovative elements of this Youth and Work project in Brooklyn were: (1) The development of programed materials with the assistance of Basic Systems, Inc.; (2) the development of the Life Skills Educator concept, combining the roles of basic education teacher and counselor.

The project was part of a research program conducted by the New York State Division for Youth. All trainees had to be high school dropouts age 16-18. Control and experimental groups were selected at random from the total group recruited. Detailed information was collected at intake, and followup studies at 1- and 2-year intervals were planned.

Development of programs was preceded by a thorough testing program to determine the learning needs of trainees. Programs were prepared in auto mechanics, machine shop practice, remedial math and remedial reading. The program in remedial reading, for example, comprised 16 books, including volumes on how to read, using the dictionary, pronunciation, word usage, sentence and word structure.

The project began operations in July 1962. Fourteen 4-month training cycles were completed by the end of 1966. Screening tests for admission to the program included the Gates Reading Survey, the Woody-McCall Test of Mixed Fundamentals in Arithmetic, and the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale. Though trainees typically had 9, 10, or 11 grades of school, reading scores ranged from the fourth to eighth grades, with a median at the sixth grade.

Participants were even less advanced in arithmetic.

It was suggested that the Metropolitan Achievement Test might provide the most relevant data and norms. Other tests used as diagnostic instruments were Gray Oral Reading Paragraphs and Gates McKillop Reading Diagnostic Tests.

At first the project operated in a traditional way. High school teachers were used on a part-time basis and basic education came late in the day, after regular school hours. Teachers came to the program after a full day of work and were not close to the program or aware of specific needs or progress of trainees. In effect, they were not part of the program. In general students were negative to basic education and felt they didn't need it. A further problem developed when the Basic Systems programed instruction was introduced: Teachers did not want to use it.

After about a year, these regular teachers left the program and it was decided to use counselors as instructors. The counselor spent 8 hours a day with students (in the shop helping the instructor, as a counselor, as a basic education teacher and in recreation). It became clear that to integrate shop and basic education instruction, it was necessary for counselors to work in the shop so that the shop content could be carried over to remediation. This person came to be known as a "life skills educator." Later, aides were used from the National Committee on Employment of Youth. The aides were semiprofessionals and offered individual attention to trainees. The aides were usually local people with high school diplomas and social work aspirations. The aide program worked out very satisfactorily.

Since 1965 remedial courses have been conducted at the beginning of each day, followed by shop work in the trade courses. In about one of three trade classes, programed units were used.

The major problem in using the programed materials was that instructors relied too exclusively on them. When much of the original excitement wore off, materials could not be used to sustain the whole remedial program. Supplementary activities and materials were needed. Moreover, it was found that materials reached only about 50 percent of trainees. They were suitable for fourth, fifth, and sixth grade reading levels and were designed to bring trainees up to the seventh and eighth grade levels of performance. About 25 percent of all trainees were too retarded and about 25 percent too advanced to use the materials. It was felt that the lower group needed more individual and personal attention and the upper group needed more enrichment, free reading, for example. A combination of individual and small group programed instruction was preferred.

There also were serious problems of cheating on the programs. Students would look at the answers and self-pacing was difficult. The use of programing also had some unanticipated effects on other parts of the schedule. Staff was not prepared, for example, to occupy students who finished quickly.

Basic education was regarded by staff as the most important part of the whole program. It was felt that reading and arithmetic had low status with male trainees and that a masculine identification was made with trade subjects—hence the effort to integrate basic education and trade subjects.

A major outcome of Youth and Work is a new program called Training Resources for Youth (TRY) which is funded with $4.3 million from three sources—U.S. Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). TRY is more comprehensive than Youth and Work and will train 600 youth annually. Twenty percent of the trainees will live in brownstones in the area. Vocational training programs will be subcontracted to Philco and Brass Rail which will provide the heavy training equipment, the staff, curriculums, program, and will do job placing after the training period in their own organizations. Central to the project's design is a major developmental effort—life skills curriculums with basic education materials organized to provide information on the major life problems faced by the trainees.

PROJECT EXPERIENCES

The following is a summary of significant experiences of E&D youth projects in basic education.

The most innovative efforts in basic education included in some projects are: (1) The development of new instructional materials; (2) the attempt to individualize instruction; (3) the effort to relate basic education to job skills. On the whole, it was my impression that relatively little major innovation was undertaken in basic education by these projects. Perhaps what was most innovative, however, was the effort to include any education in such work training programs. Almost all projects found traditional classroom instruction unsatisfactory and tried to develop better approaches.

Of significance to this observer was the unusually high and distinctive quality of all the project directors. Most were of a type, age, background, and disposition rarely found among school administrators. All seemed flexible and eager to encourage innovation. Often restrictions built into the programs tended to limit significant innovation. Built on past experiences, some of the projects are moving into new and, perhaps, more rewarding areas of innovation.

Projects aimed at different goals. If improvement on achievement tests is one criterion of goal achievement, basic education was not a notable success. Most projects claimed improvement in basic skills of about 1.5 grades over the time spent in the program. Since the standard error on many tests used is 1.3 grades, and since some projects had a rather heavy dropout among low-achievers, this gain may not be large.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Many, if not all, of the projects seemed handicapped by lack of clarity about goals and objectives on the part of both staff and students.

Confusion existed among staff about which project components had priority. While student goals were almost invariably good job placement (some trainees, of course, simply wanted more education), staff goals tended to vary according to the field of expert knowledge. Counselors thought in terms of rehabilitation of students; teachers believed that instruction in basic skills was the primary objective; vocational teachers that job performance was primary.

Even among basic education teachers, goals were not carefully spelled out. Some wanted to help students do better on specific skills exams; some wanted to interest students in reading and learning; some wanted to help them perform better on their jobs and qualify for better jobs; some thought education meant "broadening horizons"; and some felt that education is what the work book requires you to do. Yet the measure most commonly used of advancement toward educational goals was often limited to performance on achievement tests. If this is to be the only measure of success, then efforts should be made to establish this as the primary goal of basic education. If it is not to be the exclusive goal, then careful definitions should be made of other goals and measurements devised to test achievement.

When goals are not clearly stated, where they are contradictory or ambiguous, or where they are too long-term for immediate meaning, motivation often lags and stimulation is lacking for progress toward clear objectives. If job placement or upgrading is the trainee's primary goal, then it would seem that the most effective counseling, education, and training would be likely to occur on the job, where the trainee can see immediate goals before him and where some of his needs are being satisfied.

In many, if not all projects—especially where students are not being paid to attend—students often insisted that they were there to get jobs, and not to go to school, or play around, or indulge in bull-sessions with counselors and other students. As a result, many students openly, or more often covertly, resisted instruction.

TEACHERS

Perhaps the most essential ingredients of education are: Motivation, materials of instruction, and quality of teachers. Under the circumstances in which these projects operate, and given our present scanty understanding of how best to educate the disadvantaged, perhaps the most basic of these elements is the quality of teaching staff. Indeed, if quality is high, it can generate the other two ingredients—good materials and student motivation.

In projects observed, a major obstacle to innovation in the use of teaching staff, in both basic and vocational education, was the influence of State vocational education departments and local school systems. In most cases, these groups required that teachers be selected from among certified professionals. In some projects the basic education component was actually run by local boards of education.

In most cases, project directors took no special exception to the hiring of certified professionals and were reasonably satisfied with the teachers they hired. In other cases, projects made efforts to circumvent certification requirements. When the New York City YMCA project, for example, found regular high school teachers unsatisfactory, counselors were used as teachers. This switch was apparently made without objection by certification agencies. (In this project, also, building craftsmen were used in vocational training.)

Though teacher aides and other nonprofessionals were employed in some projects, in no cases were they used in regular instruction except as tutors. Nowhere in the projects visited were "indigenous" people, either adults or the students themselves, used as teachers. The use of local people might be a productive area of innovation in basic education, serving a double purpose of educating both teacher and student.

Among the soundest axioms in education is, "the only way to learn something is to teach it"; virtually every teacher has discovered that previously obscure material comes to life and is clarified by the necessity to instruct others in it. Yet rarely were more qualified students used in these projects, on a regular basis, as instructional aides. Instead, a large gulf often existed between teacher and student, created by differences in age, speech, experience, and attitudes.

In some cases volunteers, recuited from among middle-class college students, housewives and similar sources, were used successfully as tutors. In general the projects did not seem to know how to make best use of these volunteers.

Based on reported experiences, it was not possible to describe characteristics of good and poor teachers. It was agreed, however, that the most successful teachers excelled in human relations and were warm, friendly and informal with students, while at the same time, expecting high levels of performance from them and setting reasonable limits on their behavior. In all projects it was reported that the essential need of trainees was for a close personal relationship with the teacher or other staff person.

In some projects it was felt that the counselor could best fill this role and, under ideal circumstances, serve as basic skills teacher, aide in vocational skills classes, counselor, and job adviser. In the New York City YMCA project such a person, a "life skills teacher," was used to perform several of these roles.

Several projects reported that younger teachers were more successful than older ones. In one project it was said that young girls with dresses low at the top and high at the bottom were most likely to improve attendance and attention in class. In another project, in a Negro area, it was reported that the most successful teacher was an older white man from the South with no previous teaching experience—a man who cared and who understood his students; qualities which appear commonly in good teachers. Crew chiefs and skilled workmen often were found to have good rapport with trainees. Unfortunately, these men seldom engage in basic education—nor are they asked to do so.

Most projects reported that a racial mixture was most desirable in teaching staff. It was my impression that too frequently whites predominated in teaching staffs and other leadership roles, while minority group staff was present either in token numbers or in secondary roles. In one project, a large summer teaching staff recruited from among college students was entirely white, while the students were entirely Negro.

While counselors were used to teach basic educational skills in one project, in none of them were skilled workers, crew chiefs, or vocational education teachers used for this purpose. Many skilled workers and crew chiefs are highly literate and, given suitable educational materials, goals, and some training, they might be more successful as teachers than others. They would come to such work with greater understanding of and identity with trainees than most professionals—and they would have the great advantage of being engaged in a task in which trainees appear most interested, job performance. As for teaching methods, etc., they might bring to the job as much knowledge about instruction of the disadvantaged as professionals—which may not be saying very much. They might also have the advantage over the counselor of being more likely to decrease dependency in trainees.

Such teachers might also prove to be able counselors and job advisers. Using one person to perform all of these roles also has the advantage of providing better integration and continuity in handling trainees, eliminating role conflicts among staffs and offering a more personal and total relationship to trainees. Such an arrangement might help correct a situation in which trainees, many of whom are said to be adept at adult manipulation, can pit staff members against one another to serve their own ends.

All projects reported the need for better training of teachers. Many report a need for teachers specifically trained in remedial instruction. They report that, for some students, present materials and methods do not seem adequate for literacy instruction. When special impairments are present, reading specialists seem to be required.

STUDENT POPULATION

If projects are to meet student needs, programing must be adjusted to constantly changing student population characteristics. Because of higher employment rates in some areas for males, more projects now serve young women with dependent children. This requires changes in vocational training, basic education and counseling.

For example, where the aspirations and educational backgrounds of girls are suitable, typing and secretarial training may fill a number of needs. Such training prepares for white-collar jobs with upgrading opportunities in an area of labor shortage. It also fills a duel need for vocational and basic education training, since the typist and secretary, as part of their vocation, work with words, printed language, vocabulary, spelling—as well as with oral language. Training is facilitated by the appeal that typewriters and other office machines have for most young people. Similar job training opportunities are not available for boys although experimentation with programs in which boys are taught to use typewriters and other office equipment might prove highly successful in basic education instruction.

A population characteristic receiving special attention in some projects, particularly in Detroit, has to do with health and physical fitness. It has been found that many trainees suffer from some more or less debilitating medical problem. Large numbers are seriously handicapped in their capacity to learn by sight and hearing impairments. Most of these defects are remediable. Not only are complete physical exams and medical diagnoses needed in these training projects, but programs in which medical attention is actively provided to students seem a basic essential to successful learning and job performance. In many cases, trainee ailments have been previously diagnosed, but trainees or their families have not received proper medical attention. Comprehensive medical attention should be a basic element in all projects.

Related to this are the nutritional needs of trainees and the need for dissemination of birth control information. Large numbers of trainees were reported lethargic and unable to learn because of nutritional deficiencies. Many of them were simply hungry. In no cases did projects provide meals or food. In only a few was there any discussion of the need for birth control information, despite the serious handicap suffered by many female trainees who have repeated out-of-wedlock pregnancies. These problems become more crucial as trainees come increasingly from marginal populations.

Since great variability is found among trainees in performance, background, experience, aspiration and personality maturity—it cannot be assumed that any one approach will work with all students, that any one type of material, instructor, or experience will be most suitable for everyone. Perhaps the most serious deficiency in traditional school programs is that all students are handled in essentially the same way, that they are all required to do the same things and learn the same things, within the same time periods.

An advantage of experimental projects is that allowances can be made for such variation, and programs can be tailor-made to individuals or small groups. In all populations, a normal range will be found for which standardized materials and programs may be effective with only slight variations. Also present will be deviant individuals, often found at opposite ends of the achievement continuum. For these, special tailor-made instruction will probably be needed. The New York City YMCA project found need for at least three levels of instructional materials, roughly sixth to eighth grades, fourth to sixth grades, and below fourth (highly individualized).

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

Almost all projects tried to integrate basic and vocational instruction. On the whole these efforts were not too successful. The source of this failure seems to be the traditional separation of personnel, programs, and materials in the two areas of instruction. In only a few projects did materials studied in basic education relate at all to what was being done in the shop or on the work site. Typically, vocational teachers focused on manual skills and neglected related instruction in basic education, and basic education teachers seldom had much interest in or knowledge about vocational subjects. Even when vocational and basic education teachers were operating side by side, this separation frequently occurred. Perhaps the best way to avoid such a division is to have a single person instructing in both areas, using materials developed jointly by creative specialists in the two areas.

Shop work and learning of manual skills can provide exciting motivation for learning language and computational skills. A student who reads a manual in order to fix a motor is more likely to do the reading voluntarily, appreciate the "uses" of reading, and acquire skills in the process.

In some projects students originally were grouped homogeneously and treated by the teacher as a traditional class, with all required to work on the same assignments. In most cases such methods proved unsatisfactory. Efforts were then made to individualize instruction, reduce the role of teacher as lecturer and expert and increase the student's own initiative and pacing.

Guest speakers, visits to job sites, community field trips, and the use of learning games were among the more successful related activities. Very little use was made of role playing. Considering their popularity, more use could be made of field trips.

MATERIALS OF INSTRUCTION

Until recently primary reading materials suitable for adult readers have not been available. The E&D projects were far in advance of the public schools in efforts to find and create suitable materials.

Three major types of instructional materials were used in three projects: (1) structured materials—these included new texts, individualized programed materials, games, etc.; (2) unstructured materials—these consisted mainly of libraries of paperback books of special interest to trainees, offered as free reading; (3) audio-visual materials.

Neither of the two major electronic "instructional" devices were used—neither television nor computers. Experiences with materials were often contradictory. Some users were satisfied with specific materials, and others were equally dissatisfied. Surprisingly, by the time of this retrieval effort, most projects had found some more-or-less satisfactory materials, and complaints were infrequent about the lack of instructional materials. (See annotated bibliography.)

INCENTIVES AND MOTIVATION

Neighborhood Youth Corps and similar programs seem to be demonstrating that money is a meaningful incentive for disadvantaged students, as we might have guessed to begin with. When trainees are paid, especially if they are paid well, they tend to accept the requirements of the training program, even its basic education component. Almost all projects stressed the need to pay trainees throughout the training and education period.

The need for large expenditures on student stipends would be eliminated if training were done on the job, to improve skills of regular work done by trainees for pay. Since student motivation is largely job-and-money centered, the job setting itself would seem to be the best place for training, education, and rehabilitation.

This is not to say that nonmonetary incentives cannot be used or are not naturally operative with trainees in institutional programs.

One quite potent and underestimated motive is the desire of most students to learn to read, write, and perform well. Many students have much natural curiosity which can serve as a stimulant to learning when it is not repressed by fear of failure or embarrassment.

Specific job requirements as well as skills required for job-upgrading can also be powerful incentives to learning, but these goals should be highly visible and immediate.

Individual competition and incentives commonly used in traditional education may have a negative effect on trainees unless used with discretion. Typically, these trainees seem reluctant to compete with others, and, on the contrary, often have strong drives toward group cohesion and solidarity—drives which can be used for very positive ends in training.

CLASS SIZE

In some projects, where the public schools operated the basic education component, it was reported that the schools required a minimum class size of 15. In most projects, classes were smaller than this, some rather too small for good interaction. Small group techniques, useful for therapeutic or instructional purposes, were rarely employed.

The small size of both classes and total enrollment appeared as a distinct advantage for many trainees who function best in small and informal settings. Certainly the small size of most of these programs contributed to the high staff morale and the esprit de corps found in many projects. Both staff and trainees seemed inclined to regard the projects as a "home" rather than an "institutional setting."

PHYSICAL SETTING, FACILITIES

The physical settings of classrooms tended to be informal and noninstitutional. Many of the buildings, however, were rather dirty, poorly maintained and unattractive. In upgrading standards for disadvantaged youth, facilities that are casual and informal—yet at the same time orderly, clean and attractive—should be provided.

In several projects basic education classes were held in a building adjacent to an elementary school. Students were hostile to the school setting. In one project a house was taken over, a lounge provided, and other rooms converted into classrooms—an arrangement welcomed by students.

Many projects report that a number of trainees need residential facilities, a substitute home in which they can sleep, eat, and study. Since many youth obviously cannot function adequately in their present home environment, it would seem highly desirable to provide such facilities where needed.

TIME

Project reports about time and duration of basic education components were conflicting. In some projects it was felt that the training period was too long and that trainees became bored. In others it was felt that the time was too short to raise skills significantly.

The most ideal basic education programs, of course, are those that aim at continuous upgrading of trainees throughout their working lives—that offer opportunities for continuous on-the-job education and stipends for education obtained elsewhere.

Some projects scheduled basic education for the morning, others for the afternoon. If a division must be made between education and training, it is desirable to schedule education classes for the morning when trainees are fresher, or at least to alternate sections. Ideally, however, basic education would be closely related to acquisition of job skills and interspersed with such training throughout the day.

COORDINATION AND STRUCTURE

In most projects the central coordination and structure were loose, providing staff opportunities for creative problem solving. In some projects staff was confused by lack of firm guidelines and direction.

A related matter was the conflict in some projects over rules to be set for trainees. Generally, counselors favored a permissive approach to trainee behavior. Job placement staff tended to insist on high standards of performance for students and the imposition of rules and regulations that would make trainees acceptable to employers. Perhaps such conflict and attendant confusion could be avoided if one person were responsible for both counseling and job placement.

COMMUNICATIONS

In most E&D projects it was felt that better communications were very much needed and that opportunities should be offered for visits and exchanges among project staff. It was clear in basic education, for example, that projects were not aware of each other's efforts—successes or failures. Such feed back and retrieval should be a continuous process in these experimental projects.

IMPACT ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

It is difficult to comment on, or measure in any way, the impact of these E&D programs on public education. Such an analysis would require a much more intensive investigation than could be attempted here. In smaller communities such as New Haven, Conn., and even in one such as Syracuse, N.Y., impact on the schools may be significant. In the big cities, however, there are few indications that innovations promoted by these projects have had a notable influence on the schools. In New York City's MFY project there were many joint activities with the schools. But when these projects came under exclusive management by the schools, they tended to be reduced in size or abandoned altogether. In Detroit, on the other hand, some impact was reported.

The public schools, an institution perhaps more resistant to change than any other, may be vulnerable to change only when monetary incentives are offered (as in Federal aid programs), or when massive and specific efforts are made to introduce change (as in the new math and science curriculums)—or when agencies trying to promote change are in powerful and competitive positions. The Youth and Work programs were apparently not in that position. The only basis for their influence, therefore, would have been the inherent merits of the experimental elements introduced. It has been repeatedly shown, however, that schools do not respond to new programs simply because they seem to be better than the old ones.

Business and industry are in the best position to offer healthy competition to the traditional resistance to change of public schools. Education programs are extensive throughout American industry. Electronics and aerospace sponsor advanced programs for the educational development of employees. Industrial programs need to be examined more carefully by those who wish to provide alternative educational paths for youth who are dissatisfied with the public schools.

Education and training conducted by business and industry have the additional advantage of being able to circumvent public schools and State departments of education in selection of teachers. New types of personnel can be chosen and attractive and permanent positions offered.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

These conclusions are simply working hypotheses, based on what I regard as the best available evidence, for further experimentation and demonstration with basic education.

1. Since health and nutritional needs take precedence over other needs and are basic essentials to learning and effective job performance, physical exams and appropriate medical attention should be required of trainees, as in the military. In particular, all hearing and sight impairments should receive prompt attention.

Where possible a nutritional meal or snack should be served trainees during training periods in order to provide: Nutrition and energy fuel to trainees, many of whom seem seriously undernourished; motivation for attendance and performance and pleasant associations and responses of trainees to basic education instruction.

2. Where possible all training and basic education should be done on the job. This

would: Satisfy the trainees' most basic need and desire for a paying job; provide realistic and immediate motivation to trainees to improve basic education skills: make it possible for basic education to be more closely integrated with job training and performance; provide a "status" setting for education to take place (traditional classrooms having generally low status); make it possible to circumvent limitations put on staff hiring and curriculums by school authorities; provide a more permanent and more appropriately qualified pool of instructors from among employer's staff; build the potential of employers to engage in education and training, and set up programs which offer serious competition to the public schools, thus helping them, through healthy competition, to improve their efficiency.

It is widely felt that the greatest incentive to change in educational institutions would be the introduction of competition from other institutions. The aim of E&D projects is not to conduct fragmented experiments but to influence major institutions in the society. Few significant changes in public schools were, in fact, brought about by E&D projects. A better strategy for bringing about such change might lie in setting up major educational programs—based on integration with job performance and a clear ladder of job upgrading—in the most powerful sector of American society, business and industry, where the potential is present for meaningful competition with educational institutions. What must be given careful consideration in such programs is the matter of control. Programs might require participation in administration by any or all of these interested groups: Employer, government funding agency, union, representatives of the disadvantaged (as trainee, community councils, poverty boards).

Significantly, at least two projects among those visited are now pioneering in efforts to develop innovative and large-scale on-the-job programs—Chicago Jobs Now, and New York City's YMCA. The development of these programs will deserve careful attention.

3. Where on-the-job training and education are not possible, trainees should, where possible, be paid for attending classes.

4. Instructors should, where possible, work with small numbers of trainees and experimental efforts made to enlist various types of personnel, especially tradesmen, in performing many roles, perhaps including instruction in work skills, work supervision, needed basic education instruction, and counseling. Such an instructor might fill: The need of most trainees to form a close and complete relationship with one interested adult; the need to closely integrate basic education with all other aspects of the trainee's development, including vocational and personal development. Because of the specialization of various professional roles, in almost none of the E&D projects was such integration achieved.

5. Staff should be chosen on the basis of ability to relate to trainees and perform the required job. No academic or experience qualifications should be applied. The only test of fitness should be performance and ability to handle the job.

6. As much as possible, students should be used to instruct one another, formally and informally, as a supplement to the work of teachers.

7. Materials need to be more carefully evaluated for effectiveness. Especially in job training, the interest generated by free reading of paperbacks, magazines, newspapers should not be neglected. Learning in connection with job training can become too automated and mechanical. The most certain road to continuing educational development is an interest in reading as pleasure and the development of a reading habit.

8. Very few programs offer adequate opportunity to explore the world of work. Part of this exploration can take place in job training.

9. Even the best program, with the best instructors, under the most ideal conditions, will not work with all trainees. The mistake made in public schools of standardizing education for all or most students should be avoided. Suitable options should be available for trainees who do not fit the standard program.

10. The subject of birth control information should be explored with trainees.

11. Education and training goals should

be clearly stated and understood—realistic, and both immediate and long term.

12. Better communication among projects is needed as well as more expert consultation.

13. E&D projects should operate in close coordination with, but autonomous of, other larger institutions or organizations.

14. Much more "lead time" should be given all projects, especially since adequate staff training seems so critical to the success of these programs.

15. More residential centers are required.

16. Buildings and classrooms should be attractive and well cared for.

17. As much as possible, trainees should be involved in action and participatory learning.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BASIC EDUCATION MATERIALS

1. *Reading in High Gear,* Myron Woolman, SRA, Inc., 259 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.

This SRA series contains a series of workbooks, divided into three cycles. Students work out answers in the workbook. Instructor's manual accompanies each workbook. These SRA reading programs were used in a number of projects with mixed results. In North Richmond, the series was found satisfactory, particularly in preparation of exams. In Chicago it was found boring to students. MFY in New York City is using it exclusively.

2. Basic Systems, Inc., Human Resources Division, Manpower and Community Development, 880 Third Ave., New York, N.Y.

A large number of workbooks were developed by Basic Systems for the New York City YMCA Youth and Work project in four areas: Remedial reading, remedial math, machine shop practice, auto mechanics. These were tailormade for the project and aimed at integration of basic and vocational education. Those working with the materials said they could not provide the whole substance of a basic education program but must be used with supplementary materials and varied teaching methods. The materials are in the public domain and can be used and duplicated by anyone. Only the workbooks on fractions in the remedial math section were reported inadequate. Materials are designed to reach trainees at fourth, fifth, and sixth-grade levels and bring them to seventh and eighth-grade levels. Pre–and–post tests are available.

3. Follett Publishing Co. materials, 1010 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Follett provides two catalogs of basic education materials for adults and young adults. One catalog describes programs in reading, writing, spelling, English, and arithmetic. The other describes supplementary program materials such as American heritage, vocational training, and understanding the automobile.

Follett's three basic reading and writing programs are: *Reading for a Purpose* (sight-word approach, 50 looseleaf lessons, enables pacing for individual achievement); *Systems for Success I-II* (phonetic approach to building skills—each lesson develops a vocabulary, grouping phonetic families); *Communications I-II-III* (linguistic approach, three books of applied linguistics—writing accompanies reading).

4. *High School Equivalency,* Arco Publishing Co., Inc., 219 Park Ave. S., New York, N.Y.

Arco publishes two large and attractive paperbound books, one for preliminary work, *Preliminary Practice for the High School Equivalency Diploma Test;* and one for advanced work, *Equivalency Diploma Tests,* which contains material on the exact level of the test. These materials, preparing trainees for the GED, have been widely and successfully used in many projects. In some, as in Eugene, Oreg., staff prepared dittoed materials—similar to the exercises contained in these two volumes—for trainees.

An Arco course for post office clerks and carriers was found very useful in North Richmond, Chicago and elsewhere in preparation for specific civil service jobs.

5. *Words in Color,* Caleb Gattegno, Encyclopedia Britannica Press.

Generally this book was found effective in teaching those with severe literacy problems; limited use with those above fourth-grade level. Some found it rather too young for use with trainees. Because of an essentially creative approach, the book offers teacher opportunities to stimulate and innovate. The publishers also have been cooperative in offering services of consultants.

6. *Tach-X,* Educational Development Laboratories, Huntington, Long Island, N.Y.

This is a tachistoscopic machine designed to develop greater mental and visual acuity; uses filmstrips on number recognition, vocabulary and spelling.

7. *Reading Skill Builders,* Reader's Digest Services, Inc., Educational Division, Pleasantville, N.Y.

The skill building programs contain graded reading materials, stories and articles with illustrations.

8. *Mott Basic Language Skills Program,* Allied Education Council, 5533 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill.

9. *Language Master Program,* Bell & Howell Corp.

This record playback machine has a two-track system so that trainees may mimic the voice of the instructor and listen to the comparison. It is useful in improving diction of trainees, correcting speech defects, and improving vocabulary and language usage. Chicago JOBS project developed its own vocabulary as the needs of trainees dictated.

10. *Programmed Math,* McGraw Hill & Sullivan Associates, Box 577, Palo Alto, Calif.

11. *English 220,* Joseph C. Blumenthal, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1855 Rollins Rd., Burlingame, Calif.

This programed course in grammar and usage is available in hard cover and paperback. The volume contains 11 units and 78 lessons and deals with basic aspects of the sentence—parts of speech, punctuation, capitalization. It covers seventh- and eighth-grade materials. *English 2600* covers ninth and 10th grades and *English 3200* covers 11th and 12th grades. A separate 64-page booklet is provided for testing students.

12. Teacher Materials Corp., Grolier Society. TEMAC provides a series of programed reading, spelling punctuation material used in PAL Joey project in New York City.

13. *Discovering Your Language,* Neil Postman and others, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., N.Y., N.Y.

This series employs linguistics and uses the "inductive" approach to teaching language. It contains a number of hard-cover, testlike volumes with numerous exercises for student use. They are not programed and are still in experimental stages.

experimental and demonstration programs

prevocational and vocational training programs

Joseph Seiler

breakthrough for disadvantaged youth

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PREVOCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS

The main purpose of this paper is to identify and examine the potential or actual effectiveness and impact of innovative prevocational and vocational training programs implemented by experimental and demonstration (E&D) projects authorized under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962. This study was limited to the experiences of more than 50 E&D youth projects undertaken by the close of 1966. These projects were scattered throughout the country, were undertaken by a variety of types of institutions and organizations, were primarily in urban settings, and were focused on demonstrating how to meet the manpower development needs of youth usually labeled as being "disadvantaged"—i.e., out of work, undereducated, lacking literacy and job skills, feeling alienated toward society, having criminal records, etc.

The critical need for demonstrating more effective approaches to prevocational and vocational training activities for disadvantaged youth became apparent almost at the start of regular MDTA programs administered through the systems of the U.S. Employment Service (USES), State vocational education departments, and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT). The traditional training techniques and schemes first used in MDTA programs were not adequate for the manpower development of youth who suffered from severe educational and cultural deprivation. To improve this situation, MDTA experimental and demonstration projects were looked to for developing knowledge on how, when, and where disadvantaged youth could be adequately prepared for the world of work.

The E&D program has been highly innovative in the training area. It has already produced a variety of training and work-experience concepts and programs that are now common to regular manpower development programs throughout the country—e.g., on-the-job training (OJT) community contracts with subcontracting authorized by BAT to second parties; OJT coupled programs; basic education, communications and employment skills training; multioccupational training projects and skill centers; work experience by way of work crew activities and individual work stations in public agencies; New Careers (preprofessional training for jobs with advancement opportunities); JOBS Now[1] (placement first, training later); training in correctional institutions; coach class training for military rejectees, etc. Also, there are a number of E&D activities now in the developmental stage which have high potential for being institutionalized in manpower programs for disadvantaged persons —e.g., work conditioning through work-sample and vestibule prevocational training; work experience and adjustment through slum housing rehabilitation efforts, contracted community services, and sheltered workshop contracted work; preapprenticeship training through rehabilitation of private ownership homes of low-income persons and Model Cities activities generally; and programed instruction for basic education and vocational training.

The prime sources of data and information studied were: (1) reports and related materials stemming from more than 50 E&D youth projects conducted during the period 1963-1966, and (2) the results of interviews during field visits to the following project sites: Job Upgrading Project, Neighborhood House Inc. (NH), North Richmond, Calif.; Preparation and Employment Program for Special Youth (PEPSY), Cincinnati, Ohio; Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS), St. Louis, Mo.; Police Athletic League (PAL), Job Opportunities and Employment for Youth (Joey), New York City; Goodwill Industries, Inc., Springfield, Mass.; and Draper Correctional Center, Elmore, Ala.

The complexity of the E&D project determined the length of time spent at the project site. The shortest time spent interviewing the project director and other personnel was 1 full day; the longest was 3 days. Consequently, there could not be a thorough study of the projects and their long–range effectiveness.

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[1] JOBS Now, the Chicago program, is not to be confused with the national JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector) Program started in 1968.

Furthermore, to a great degree, this paper is based upon project reports submitted to the U.S. Department of Labor and, in some instances, these may not be completely accurate.

INNOVATION FOR EMPLOYMENT PREPARATION

In 1962 the U.S. Congress passed the MDTA which authorized projects aimed at developing new ways to meet manpower problems.

In 1963 experimental and demonstration (E&D) projects were initiated and major attention was given to the development, through actual project operations, of new programs and organizational arrangements to meet the manpower problems of disadvantaged youth. In addition to the new programs and techniques tried, at least as important were the types and combinations of institutions enlisted to conduct these projects. Established agencies, such as the PAL, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) of Metropolitan Chicago, and JEVS in St. Louis and Philadelphia, which had experience in dealing with youth problems and/or problems of other disadvantaged groups, designed and administered some of the early E&D projects.

Civic and other community groups also contracted to establish experimental programs for this purpose, as did correctional institutions and universities having staffs with special kinds of training and experience, which qualified them to undertake such programs.

In the period between January 1963 and June 1966, more than 50 E&D projects had been funded through the Manpower Administration of the Labor Department. These projects, the subjects of this paper, were spread out over 19 States, including the District of Columbia, and involved more than 50,000 disadvantaged youth.

Innovative programs for use in meeting the manpower development needs of disadvantaged youth are, however, no better than the quality of personnel who must design and implement such activities. Generally, E&D projects were short term. For this reason it was difficult to attract many highly creative and knowledgeable persons to employment in such projects. The anxiety of project personnel as the project termination date approached was a very visible phenomenon. Many of the qualified and dedicated staff members soon sought more secure employment resulting in a serious loss to the projects. This was particularly serious in situations where projects were in the process of developing useful new techniques or approaches to meet manpower problems. Such projects were usually refunded to build upon the base of knowledge established, but oftentimes refunding was decided upon at the close of the project, by which time many key staff members had left for other jobs.

Most personnel in E&D projects knew the goals of their projects, but they were often seriously hampered, particularly at the start of a new project, by lack of knowledge of the attitudes, values, and motives of the target population. In seeking to transform jobless and reportedly unemployable inner-city youth into productive workers for the labor force, the projects found that disadvantaged youngsters aspired to middle-class values and economic goals, but they had no experience with legitimate means or models to achieve these values and goals. These youth were underachievers in education for a number of reasons, not the least being the inability of middle-class educators to get through to them using traditional teaching content and techniques. Their "bad attitude" was a realistic response to the world as they found it, to the models around them, and to the pressures of their peers. Many were embittered because they early internalized the fact that, because of their racial or ethnic origin, they would not be given an opportunity to compete for jobs on equal terms with their white peers.

Project staff who were to transform such youth into highly motivated trainees and successful workers did not have in 1963 the comprehensive understanding of these youth which they later developed. Special staff activities such as "sensitivity training" were used, but these techniques are still in the developmental stage.

Almost universally, the E&D projects encountered problems of some magnitude in obtaining cooperation of public agencies at the Federal, State, and local levels. These include the State Employment Service (ES), BAT, parole officers, State vocational education agencies and public school systems, State vocational rehabilitation agencies, and public welfare and public health agencies, to identify but a few. Later in this paper is a discussion on how various public agencies controlling MDTA institutional and on-the-job training programs interposed serious obstacles to E&D projects.

It is interesting to note that the resistance of established institutions to innovation and change was anticipated by those who framed the E&D activities in the MDTA legislation. In his report of August 24, 1964, on the Training Conference at Airlie House, Warrenton, Va., earlier that month, Dr. Curtis C. Aller[2] said that the legislators ". . . viewed the Experimental and Demonstration project device as a substitute means of putting pressure on established agencies that would produce change." He also said that officials at the top of old line public agencies should recognize the intent and potential of these projects and oppose the pleas of line staff that the E&D projects overlapped and were competitive with traditional agency services. "In a very real sense," he said, "this is what they [the E&D projects] are designed to do; and if irritation wasn't present, this could be taken as an indication they had failed in their mission."

TRAINING METHODOLOGY

When the MDTA was passed in 1962, its main thrust was toward retraining of workers displaced by structural changes in the economy. There was no question of the ability of workers displaced by automation and other technological advances to perform adequately, simply a determination to provide them with new skills. Standard training procedures were thus considered to be adequate, and these fell into two categories: institutional and on-the-job training.

It quickly became clear that the group most in need of job training—the growing body of out-of-school and out-of-work youth who typically had no skills and had never worked at regular jobs—were not being enrolled in MDTA programs. Also, it was clear that standard MDTA training methods required considerable bolstering, that the trainees needed many kinds of help not normally provided by training programs, and that standard arrangements and methodology for institutional and on-the-job training were inadequate.

The regular MDTA programs could not resolve these problems and at the same time meet operating pressures for effecting the training of large numbers of applicants. These programs were economy minded, and quite inflexible in procedure, being strongly influenced by traditional vocational education patterns. For this reason, E&D projects, flexible in operation, and oriented to "learning by doing," were looked to as a means of undertaking the time-consuming goal of developing new and innovative training procedures and programs.

PREVOCATIONAL TRAINING

One of the basic problems of the institutional and on-the-job training programs under MDTA in 1963 was that they assumed trainees had a fairly high literacy level (10th to 12th grade), and had developed the communication and work-adjustment skills required for successful job performance. This assumption proved false for disadvantaged youth. The assumption concerns what is broadly known as "prevocational skills," attributes that are severely lacking among the disadvantaged. Consequently, the challenge to E&D projects was to develop procedures and techniques to provide disadvantaged youth with needed education and social skills without resorting to the traditional classroom or authoritarian methodologies that these youth would reject, in part because of past failures identified with them.

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[2] At that time Dr. Aller was Staff Director of the U.S. House of Representatives' Select Committee on Labor. His resignation as Associate Manpower Administrator of the U.S. Department of Labor became effective in September 1968 with his return to San Francisco State College as professor of economics.

Basic Education Skills

The E&D projects repeatedly found that a great number of disadvantaged youth, regardless of whether they had some high school or even had graduated, could not read or handle numbers well enough to pass tests for gaining entrance to MDTA institutional training or, more importantly, to learn from the curriculums used in such training. Typical findings with respect to basic literacy of disadvantaged youth were those of the Chicago Job Opportunities through Better Skills (JOBS) project. Achievement test scores for 1,500 youth showed, on the average, ability to read and figure at the sixth-grade level—but the group had an average completion of 10 years of education. It was apparent that, without adequate basic education capability, these youth could not benefit readily from skill training.

For this reason, it was a common circumstance for E&D projects to provide youth with remedial literacy training. The approaches used included various forms of tutoring, programed instruction, and other nontraditional approaches, such as games, which avoided the creation of a typical classroom teaching atmosphere. Full details on E&D materials and methods for basic education are described in chapter four, "Basic Education" by Dr. Patricia Cayo Sexton, professor of sociology, New York University, New York, N.Y.

The early E&D projects quickly identified basic education as one of the forms of prevocational training needed by disadvantaged youth if they were to succeed in vocational training for job skills. This E&D experience provided much of the background and framework leading to amendment of the MDTA in 1963 to provide basic education training for persons who needed it to qualify for regular occupational training programs. Therefore, the scope of the regular MDTA institutional training program was expanded.

In 1966, in recognition of a broad base of E&D experience (New York City Board of Education, Youth Opportunities Board (YOB) of Greater Los Angeles, Chicago JOBS, National Committee for Children and Youth (NCCY) in Washington, D.C., and others) showing that many disadvantaged youth could become employable through basic education alone, the MDTA was amended further to provide for basic education training not necessarily linked to occupational skill–training programs.

Communication Skills

The inability of disadvantaged youth to communicate with training instructors, counselors, etc., was frequently found by E&D projects to be a limiting factor to success by these youth in skill training and subsequent employment. While their poor verbal skills contributed to this problem, the errors and dialect in their speech pattern were the more significant factors causing them to be misunderstood or not understood at all. The development of new language skills through positive articulation change required more than simple academic instruction. The E&D project at Temple University, in cooperation with the Berean Institute (a business training school indigenous to the community where many trainees lived) attacked this problem. It set out to investigate whether adding dialect remediation to secretarial training would increase the job potential of MDTA secretarial trainees.

The Temple University project used experimental and control groups. Trainees in both groups received 30 weeks of instruction, and the trainee-teacher ratio was 20 students per teacher. Each week, the control group received 10 hours of English, 5 hours of stenography, 5 hours of typing and 5 hours of tutorial instruction. The experimental group received the same instruction, with the exception that 5 hours of its English instruction took place in a language laboratory operated by special speech teachers. The project's final report includes an outline of the 30-week speech training curriculums; details on the types of programed tapes used in the language laboratory; and descriptions of the various speech measures used (e.g., linguistic analysis based on weighted scores for specific phonological and grammatical deviations) initially to match experimental and control groups and ultimately to measure the effects of the speech remediation program.

Results showed that positive speech change could be accomplished in a relatively short period of time; positive communications skill improvement was demonstrated by the experimental group while the control group remained the same. However, the results were not able to support the hypothesis that those trainees receiving dialect remediation would obtain employment at higher job levels (i.e., secretaries or stenographers) requiring good communication skills. In fact, very few trainees in both groups were able to obtain secretarial or stenographic positions. While it could be concluded that communications skills of those in the experimental group had not been improved sufficiently to effect their occupational attainment of jobs requiring such skills, it was evident that severe inadequacies of the secretarial skill training and/or the process of selecting trainees prevented the trainees from obtaining higher level jobs.

The work at Temple University laid the groundwork for methods and techniques for language and speech development that were adopted by other federally funded efforts with disadvantaged persons. And it served as a stimulus for widespread recognition of the need for such programs as a form of prevocational training, leading in 1966 to amendment of the MDTA to provide authority for communication skills training programs on a regular basis.

Work-Adjustment Skills

The initial major efforts of the E&D programs, MYF, Action for Boston Community Development, Inc. (ABCD), YOB and CPI, quickly recognized the gulf that existed between the attitudes, motivation and other behavioral attributes required by employers and those exhibited by disadvantaged youth. Employer standards for work habits were stemming from those middle-class social-cultural norms—standards which had not been reinforced by the rules and rewards of the culture of poverty. The profile for disadvantaged youth typically showed that they were not reliable and would not show up for job interviews; were frequently late for work and absent without explanation; dressed poorly and lacked personal hygiene; were impulsive and hostile and unfriendly to coworkers; were reluctant to accept or profit by supervision, or criticism; were not interested or motivated to train for job skills in the belief that jobs would not be open to them; and were deficient in their knowledge of the various jobs in the world of work and of the varied types of preparation needed to obtain different jobs.

It was evident that most disadvantaged youth knew little about the general culture of our society, what modern work is like, and how to move self-confidently over the long geographic and social distances needed to get many jobs. The ordinary work-a-day world of office, factory and shop was alien to them and they, in turn, were alien to it. They rarely had familiarity with the content, tensions, or demands of steady wage work. They had little opportunity to observe work settings or learn work habits.

As a result, most of the disadvantaged youth enrolled in E&D projects had never held a full-time job for more than a few weeks, and many had never been enrolled in skill training or employed full time. To overcome the foregoing behavior deficiencies and, thereby, provide youth with skills needed to achieve successful adjustment in training and on a job, various forms of prevocational training were tried by E&D projects.

Prevocational training for work-adjustment skills was directed at developing positive interest in, attitude toward, and motivation for work—attributes which together formed a youth's "readiness" for skill training and/or a job. Generally, such training was provided as a precondition for effective skill training or employment through counseling techniques (e.g., group counseling, peer group sessions, role playing, etc.) and work-experience formats (e.g., work crews, sheltered workshops, vestibule training, etc.).

Chapter three "Testing, Counseling, and Supportive Services" by Jesse E. Gordon, professor of psychology and social work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, provides considerable detail on how E&D counseling policies and activities such as lectures, discussions, and trips were geared to helping youth acquire knowledge on how to get and hold training and job opportunities.

The various work-experience programs of E&D projects generally supplemented and were coordinated with counseling for orientation to the world of work, and basic education required by training curriculums and job duties. The chief merit of providing youth with special forms of work experience, both simulated and real, was that the various demands of a work situation could be experienced by youth under reasonably realistic industrial conditions without having their poor discipline or work production trigger immediate dismissal. Therefore, they could be introduced effectively to the sustained work periods of a typical employment situation with its requirements of regularity of attendance and punctuality, cooperative behavior with fellow workers, acceptance of supervision and instruction, and maintaining an industrial work pace.

While it is difficult to document precisely, it is quite likely that the work of the E&D projects during 1963-1964 in pointing to the need for and values of subsidized work experience as a mechanism for developing positive work habits and job readiness for disadvantaged youth was a major influence for institutionalization of this concept through the creation of the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) in 1964 with the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA). As indicated later in this report, work crews such as those pioneered by MFY, and dispersed worksites in public agencies such as those used by the City of Detroit, are now common to the NYC program. However, not all of the work–experience models demonstrated in E&D projects can be established readily within the NYC. Details on work-experience formats tried by E&D projects for disadvantaged youth are described in the sections immediately following.

Work Crews. One of the earliest E&D projects was MFY, a social welfare agency on the lower east side of New York City. This project pioneered the notion of using work crews for programs of subsidized work experience to develop "work habits" and "job readiness." Such labels were meant to cover learning to cope with traditional work problems and demands such as acceptance of supervisory authority, and reporting to work every day on time.

MFY organized its own work crews, known as the Urban Youth Corps (UYC). Each crew consisted of a supervisor and 10 youth. They were supervised by neighborhood adults skilled in crew work activities who served as role models. The crews aimed at having youth work with and instruct each other and solve real work problems together.

Worksites were a gasoline and auto service station, an automotive repair shop, a woodworking shop, a luncheonette, and other settings that could be used to provide meaningful examples of the motivation and attitudes required by the world of work. The work crew jobs were simulated in the sense that the work was created by MFY without its end products going into commerce. Profits for the gas station and luncheonette businesses were allowed, however, inasmuch as they were turned back to the Government.

Crews generally worked 6 hours a day. In each work crew, groups of five trainees met 6 hours a week on their worksites to study literacy materials keyed to their specific work tasks. Visits to a variety of private industry plants, talks by union and management representatives, individual and group counseling on regular and crisis basis, and return visits to the worksites by employed former work crew youth "who had made it," were additional features of the work crew program.

MFY achieved an enviable record of developing employability among disadvantaged youth, most of whom were Puerto Ricans, by providing work-experience training through the use of work crews and subsequently job skills through OJT or straight job placement. In tracing the relationships between the manpower services provided and their ultimate employment outcomes, MFY concluded that:

> The learning of 'workership' or work habits emerges as even more important than the learning of a specific skill. The fact that many of the young men who were trained at the gas station ended up in other types of jobs does not indicate that the training was a failure. It was a necessary evolutionary step in enabling them to reach the point of becoming employable, of ultimately being able to work under what formerly would have been impossible conditions for them. It is their work program (work crew) experience and support that made this great difference.

E&D project use of work crews also became a significant part of the inner-city manpower activities at CPI, ABCD, and of the rural youth development programs of the New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity. These projects showed that the social-psychological work behavior problems of disadvantaged youth can be resolved by work crew activities to permit success in skill training and ultimately in employment.

Experience indicates that work crews should be small—not to exceed 10 trainees—and carefully supervised by adults who have technical competence, positive attitudes concerning the potential of disadvantaged youth, and ability to develop rapport with youth by being both patient and firm. Moreover, youth should have an opportunity to rotate on work crew stations, so as to obtain varied and graded work experience. Finally, remedial education and personal counseling are vital support services to a crew work-experience program.

With creation of the national NYC program in 1964, use of work crews as a device to orient youth to work settings was adopted by many NYC sponsors around the country and now is embodied firmly in the national program. The E&D work crews developed at CPI and ABCD to perform public service work in landscaping, painting, carpentry, and library work and the various E&D crews at MFY are now operating as part of the regular program for out-of-school enrollees.

Dispersed Worksites. E&D projects at Action for Appalachian Youth (AAY), Charleston, W. Va., and City of Detroit developed subsidized work-experience stations at scattered locations or dispersed worksites. There are several points of difference with work crews:

Work Crew	**Dispersed Site**
Placement is in small work crews composed of peers.	Placement is of individual youth with adult workers.
Supervision is provided by trained work crew supervisors.	Supervision is performed by regular department supervisors.
Work experience is relatively sheltered.	Work experience is relatively unsheltered.

While relatively few types of work activities can be performed in and by work crews, many can be performed at dispersed worksites, which can be located in almost any work setting.

Dispersed worksites were established in offices and plants of city government and private nonprofit agencies. Youth placed there were not employees because they were not paid by the agency, and they did not replace regular employees. The trainee worked alongside regular agency employees. Since the agency was not under pressure to get its money's worth, it could be tolerant while the trainee learned how to perform and how to behave. These work stations were not designed to provide intensive skill training in specific occupations, but were established to provide work conditioning so that the trainee could develop the positive work habits and attitudes needed to achieve success in skill training or permanent employment.

In the City of Detroit project, 500 youth were provided with work experience on dispersed worksites for half a day, and classroom instruction (i.e., basic education, testing, group work, etc.) for the balance of the day. Worksite occupational areas included clerical, hospital services, cooking, auto mechanics, and business machine repair. Some youth were rotated through various worksites providing increasingly rigorous demands for performance as they moved from station to station. This "graded work experience" reinforced the trainees' sense of achievement.

Two features contributed greatly to the project's success in placing 88 percent of its trainees in employment and in having a dropout rate of only 3 percent. The first concerns the procedure used in selecting dispersed worksites. While it was understood that youth would not acquire a high level of job skills on dispersed worksites, such sites were established only where the work involved was related to jobs for which there were openings in the Detroit area (as indicated by surveys of the Michigan Employment Security Commission). Almost 80 percent of the project's job placements were related to the trainees' work experience.

The other significant feature of the Detroit project was that of the role of the work-education coordinator (WEC), which was adopted from school work-study programs. Each WEC was responsible for up to 20 youth. He had a valid teaching certificate and classroom experience in addition to business and industrial experience; he was personally committed to helping disadvantaged youth. The WEC was the teacher of each half day's classroom training, and the followup counselor for the remainder of the day when youth were at dispersed worksites. As such, he was a parent surrogate, welfare worker and friend, responsible for helping the trainee become a self-supporting, self-respecting human being. The WEC's classroom instruction was directly related to the job activities at the dispersed worksites. For example, if the trainee's work experience was in an auto mechanics shop, his classroom basic education instruction included words and terms from automotive technology. Much of the classroom instruction centered around problems uncovered by the WEC in talking to trainees and their supervisors at the worksites. The WEC was the significant adult who was the buffer between the trainee and life.

At AAY, daily activities required that trainees be at dispersed work-experience stations for one half day, and receive counseling and basic education the remainder of the day. The project found that a number of dispersed worksites were inadequate because supervisors were too busy to give proper guidance or could not develop rapport with the trainees. Consequently, poor work habits were sometimes nurtured. Also, the project had difficulty locating work stations that were attractive and challenging to youth. Too many of the dispersed worksites involved janitorial and groundskeeping work. Almost 300 of the trainees enrolled in the work-experience program were placed ultimately into MDTA institutional training. However, 43 percent dropped out. The project felt that this happened because the training was done by traditional school staff and with traditional classroom instruction methods and materials. An interesting comparison made by the project showed that the vocational education dropout rate was 43 percent over a 10-month period, while the work-experience program dropout rate was 23 percent over a 19-month period. Such statistics make it clear that no one remedial program such as work experience can solve the complexities of the manpower development process.

Use of dispersed worksites for subsidized work experience in public and private nonprofit agencies is the core of the national NYC program. While the E&D projects in Detroit and Charleston, W. Va. were completed before the birth of the NYC, the lessons from these projects are yet to be utilized. Evaluation reports point up the need for better quality NYC work stations, more careful supervision of enrollees, and devoting half of the workday to enrichment and support services. The Detroit project could be the "model" needed.

Contract Services. As a means of providing work experience for the development of work adjustment skills, some E&D projects set up their own businesses, which employed disadvantaged youth. MFY operated a gasoline and auto service station and a luncheonette for its work crews. Project-operated businesses were not required to show a profit, and their losses could be written off as training costs. By duplicating the procedures and work requirements of regular employees, the businesses provided useful work experience.

The Neighborhood House E&D project operated a business called Supreme Services, which solicited and developed contracts to provide custodial, gardening, and other services to private households and industry. Youth were generally employed for a 9-week period. Their work experience, with its realistic work demands, was coordinated with basic education tutoring and counseling services provided by the project. The work experience was viewed by the project as the stepping stone to employability. After the 9-week work–experience period, if the trainee had not been placed in a job, he was retained in Supreme Services as a part-time worker until job placement was made.

The fact that Supreme Services was self-supporting and had very good holding power for disadvantaged youth is probably due to the role that youth had in the enterprise. The trainees were involved in making decisions that would affect them. At weekly meetings held by the business manager, potential contracts for services were discussed with the trainees, and they gave their opinion on how new contracts were to be planned and implemented. They decided what hours they would work on new contracts, and they evaluated their past job performance. Trainees felt that their decisions influenced the earnings of the business, and this was reflected in the fact that most youth made at least $2 per hour.

Urban Redevelopment. A few E&D projects attempted to build work-experience programing into urban renewal activities. One of the first work crews at MFY participated in slum area tenement renovations, with MFY contracting for only those portions of the housing rehabilitation effort (e.g., gutting buildings) that did not lend themselves to training for job skills. Similar activities were undertaken by work crews at ABCD.

A project which aroused much attention was run by the Citizens Committee on Youth (CCY), Cincinnati, Ohio. This project combined E&D and urban renewal funds to finance an Urban Conservation Program, a work-experience program in which disadvantaged youth engaged in housing rehabilitation under supervision of journeymen union craftsmen. It has been endorsed by the Cincinnati central labor body and by the unions in four of the five crafts in which it operates.

Work experience is gained in rehabilitation of owner-occupied code enforcement area homes, whose low-income owners are eligible for Federal grants ($1,500) and/or 3 per cent interest loans (under Sections 115 and 312 of the Federal Housing Act of 1965) administered by the city housing and renewal agency. The project assists homeowners in applying for these grants and loans, which ultimately are channeled to the project by the city; as such, the project is a further example of the use of contract services.

Housing officials agree that the quality of the project's renovation work is satisfactory, and they say that if it were not for the project, the work would not be done at all because private contractors have been unwilling to bid on the small jobs (usually $1,500 or less) involved. This income to the project helps cover the cost of trainee wages, tools, and work materials, but is insufficient to cover a variety of other expenses, including administrative costs, salaries of journeymen supervisors, and orientation and other support services to trainees. Costs of the last mentioned have been financed by the E&D program.

Project work in setting up home renovation contracts involves contacting prospective customers, inspecting conditions of dilapidated homes, drawing plans for and writing required work specifications, estimating costs, and writing a proposal-bid and agreement. Care must be taken to insure that expenditures for trainee wages and materials do not exceed the contract price. This is quite difficult to do because the following factors must be considered: (1) fluctuating work crew size due to absenteeism, trainees leaving for regular jobs, and time for enrolling new trainees; (2) trainee pay raises; (3) unanticipated increases in cost of materials; (4) unanticipated job delays; and (5) unknown bids to be made by subcontractors for work phases not covered by project work crews. Since the project enters into its contracts on a nonprofit basis without financial reserves to liquidate a loss, estimates of costs must be made with great expertise.

The project has set up about 10 crews, each having five trainees supervised by a union foreman whose role is that of teacher-friend-counselor. Each crew performs a specific craft job: electrical wiring, painting, plastering, cement masonry, or carpentry. Plumbing and roofing are subcontracted to regular firms. Difficulties are sometimes encountered in keeping all crews equally busy because not all contracts involve work in each of the five trade areas for which there are crews. The crews work 7 hours a day on home renovation work and spend another hour, the first of each day, in work-oriented remedial education. Periodic sessions are also set up by crew supervisors for advanced classroom work in craft skills.

The early work of the CCY was for especially disadvantaged youth, and the work experience provided was aimed primarily at introducing youth to the requirements of the workday world. The more recent E&D efforts by the project include youth who are not quite so disadvantaged with respect to their basic education skills, and aim at placing trainees (after 6 months in the project) into apprenticeship and building trades employment. The project recently has introduced coaching courses to provide the skills needed for passing apprenticeship entrance examinations.

Youth must complete a 4-week orientation before going on work crews. Since most dropouts occur during the initial 4-week period, the great majority of trainees who lasted through these 4 weeks have stayed with their crews and have been placed in employment. Many placements have been made in nonunion construction trade work. A few trainees have gained apprenticeship in the construction trades. Followup data on job placements indicate job stability among a majority of the youth placed in employment.

The CCY project has great appeal and potential as a model for (1) developing the cadre of disadvantaged persons who will be needed to participate in improving their communities in the upcoming nationwide Model Cities Program; (2) developing meaningful work-experience stations for out-of-school youth enrolled in the NYC; and (3) opening up apprenticeship opportunities to disadvantaged youth. Also, the project experience has been the inspiration for the development of an urban redevelopment work-experience program in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the D.C. Central Labor Council and Building Trades Council, to assist minority group youth to enter building trades apprenticeship.

Work Samples. The work-sample technique is akin to a variety of concepts and operations that have been used in E&D projects. It is a facet of sheltered workshop and vestibule training programs, an alternative approach to aptitude and intelligence testing, a counseling tool, and a form of work experience to precede skill training or job placement. This great versatility of work samples for meeting various problems in the manpower development of disadvantaged youth is described in the chapter on "Testing, Counseling, and Supportive Services."

Work samples are industrial and business tasks, parts of real jobs involving actual job material and equipment. They can be graded with respect to their problem-solving complexity or required level of intellectual and motor performance. Moreover, they are distributed within broad occupational categories, and are generally administered in a simulated industrial atmosphere with its requirement of being careful in task performance, observance of plant rules, and other employment requirements. Work-sample programs typically last about 2 weeks. Applicant performance on work samples is observed and evaluated by trained professionals, who record quantity and accuracy of performance, work attitudes and persistence, frustration tolerance and interpersonal relationships, visual-motor coordination, acceptance of authority, expressed interest and learning speed, initiative, and acceptance of responsibility.

The use of a series of work samples to provide a program of prevocational work experience for disadvantaged youth provides an opportunity for self-assessment for the discovery of interests and aptitudes. This leads to more realistic decisions by youth concerning the selection of training and job opportunities. The New York City YMCA and Draper Correctional Center report that, by providing youth with pretraining experience with work samples, reductions were made in switching and dropping out of training programs as well as in expressed dissatisfaction with elected vocational training programs.

In addition to its value for youth self-assessment, work-sample programs are looked to by youth as being "on-the-job" experiences. Consequently, youth performance can provide counselors with important information on interests, abilities, work habits, and attitudes. The counselor is then able to make better judgments on appropriate specific training and job opportunities, and on "readiness" of the applicant for such opportunities. Experiences of MFY, JEVS in St. Louis and Philadelphia show that, where counselors utilized the evaluation reports developed in the work-sample program, high training performance and job stability for youth were evidenced.

The values of work-sample methodology as a prevocational experience have been further demonstrated in an E&D project undertaken in 1967 through a joint effort of the Philadelphia JEVS and North Philadelphia Human Resources Development (HRD) Center of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service.

One result of the wide recognition by industry, youth-serving agencies, and professional groups of E&D activities involving work samples is the Department of Labor's plan to incorporate prevocational work-sample programs into regular manpower program operations of the ES and other agencies.

Sheltered Workshops. For many years, sheltered workshops have been developing the economic and social potentials of physically and mentally handicapped persons. These workshops have been used as settings for transitional employment (i.e., preparation to enter the competitive world of work), and for long-term employment of those who have adjusted to learning and work practices but who still cannot meet the demands of competitive employment. In the sheltered workshop environment, workers are given the opportunity to work at a pace suitable to their individual capabilities. Supervisors are more concerned with assisting workers in making the best adjustment to the work environment than with meeting production schedules. This rehabilitative approach for development of work tolerance and habits usually is coupled with counseling, remedial education, and other support services.

Since sheltered workshops were recognized settings for the development of work-adjustment skills for handicapped persons who had not been able to join the Nation's work force, it was natural that one of the early areas of E&D probing was to determine whether sheltered workshops could adapt their techniques to the manpower development problems of the educationally and socially disadvantaged. Notable projects which utilized established sheltered workshops were those at the JEVS in Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Kansas City, Mo., the Vocational Advisory Service (VAS) in New York City, and the Springfield Goodwill Industries, Inc.

A few projects developed new facilities for sheltered type programs for youth who were not able to benefit from work crews, dispersed work, and other forms of prevocational work experience. For example, the CCY set up an upholstery shop, which used donated furniture frames. The sale of upholstered furniture paid for the materials, trainee wages, work tools, and supervision.

To most disadvantaged youth, the sheltered workshop with its realistic industrial conditions appeared to be a regular worksite. They felt they had a job, and this was an important basis for growth in their self-confidence. Most of the work performed was subcontracted from industry and was repetitive work requiring little skill. Much of it involved hand operations or the use of simple equipment for job tasks in sorting, product assembly, and packaging. In a few shops, workers rebuilt and upholstered furniture or manufactured goods using machinery which required some skill to operate.

The workshops generally reported that it was quite difficult to get sufficient suitable subcontracts for production work to be performed by disadvantaged youth. Bidding on these contracts is highly competitive and must meet strict quality and delivery specifications. It was suggested that, if sheltered workshops were to be used on any scale for providing prevocational training to disadvantaged youth, the Government should also make available the contract work to be performed.

At the Philadelphia JEVS, jobs were simplified by breaking them down into basic components in order to fulfill the quantitative and qualitative demands of the subcontract. The trainee was given exposure and opportunity to adapt to a variety of job tasks and situations. The pressures of production were used to teach the realities of work demands by employers and created a setting for observing the trainees' adjustment to these standards. The necessity of meeting subcontract time limits served to impress the trainees with the need for regular attendance. Also, regularity of attendance and promptness were reflected in their earnings.

Most workshops paid the legal minimum hourly wage throughout the work-experience period. However, Philadelphia JEVS had an hourly wage rate schedule that started below the minimum wage and with automatic weekly increases reached the legal minimum hourly wage.[3] Unfortunately, no one workshop used both wage payment procedures. Therefore, their relative effects could not be compared with any precision. However, Philadelphia JEVS reported that the automatic wage increases tended to support and stimulate most youth, resulting in increased productivity keeping pace with pay increases. Also, they report that in the latter part of the 13-week work adjustment training period, in many cases work motivation was better maintained when youth were paid on the basis of what they produced rather than a fixed shop rate.

St. Louis JEVS paid the legal minimum wage at all times and reported that by doing so, it was easy to convince trainees with poor production that they were not earning their keep and this served as a stimulus for eliciting greater work motivation.

Inherent to the traditional operations of sheltered workshops is constant "diagnostic evaluation" of the work adjustment problems and abilities of trainees. This is generally done by psychologists, counselors, and the industrial foremen who supervise the trainees. The projects at St. Louis and Philadelphia JEVS and Springfield Goodwill Industries first enrolled trainees in a 1- to 2-week program of subsidized performance on work samples. Evaluators were able to observe the extent of the trainee's work adjustment problems, his counseling needs, and the kinds of work situations appropriate for him to start at in the sheltered workshop.

While in the workshop, foremen closely observed trainees with respect to their work tempo, task persistence, coordination and dexterity, self and peer competition for output, and quality and quantity of work. At Springfield Goodwill Industries, supervisors made daily reports on each youth, using ratings in specific areas: Attitudes toward work, output, ability to respond to pressures for more output, effort, better work, concept of self as a worker, attendance, conformity to work rules, skills, and personal behavior. With such information, determinations were made on the types of supervision and other pressures to be used to get trainees to learn to function more adequately.

Usually, supervision was permissive when the trainee was first enrolled in the workshop. This was done to accomplish the beginning objective of promoting personal adjustment to the general work setting and helping the youth accommodate to the personal and social factors which, aside from production, are traits required of good workers in general. Gradually, through the course of the youth's progress, workshop supervision was escalated in firmness of standards to that found in competitive industry. This involved stressing work of good quality; teaching the youth to pace himself; emphasizing attendance, punctuality and carrying out instructions; stressing productivity; and other factors specific to being an efficient worker.

Workshop foremen worked closely with counselors so that counseling activities would focus on specific workshop adjustment problems exhibited by the trainees. Almost all of the sheltered workshop E&D projects scheduled individual and group counseling with trainees at least once a week. Counseling sessions progressed from impersonal to personal considerations and finally to matters wherein external employment conditions were separated from personal anxieties. Thus, at the close of the workshop training, counseling was mainly vocational and designed to help the youth face problems of choosing, entering, and succeeding in skill training or on a job.

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[3] Philadelphia JEVS reported that this had to be discontinued because of "U.S. Department of Labor, Wage and Hour Division's insistence on payment of minimum wages, despite handicapped status of youth, and the damaging effect of unearned wages on healthy growth and motivation." It should be noted that sheltered workshops typically have special certificates from the Department of Labor, which allows payment of less than legal minimum wage only to individuals whose earning capacity is impaired by age, physical or mental disability, or injury. This does not apply to 'socially handicapped" persons.

The job placement statistics of the sheltered workshop projects are among the best achieved by the more than 50 E&D projects surveyed for this report. This is probably due to the fact that these workshops have developed broad ties with industry over the years in serving handicapped persons. Sheltered workshop activities were relatively short term. With the goal of moving youth directly into competitive employment, workshop training periods were only 2 weeks in Kansas City, about 4 to 5 weeks in Springfield and St. Louis, and up to 13 weeks in Philadelphia.

Workshop programs report postplacement followup findings, while this information is frequently absent in E&D reports. The obvious reason for this is that the traditional workshop operation requires frequent followup work by counselors. This probably accounts, in part, for the good working relationships sheltered workshops have with private employers.

Followup work by counselors at St. Louis JEVS was useful in identifying youth who had lost their jobs or were about to, and in bringing them back to the workshop for further work-adjustment skill development. The project found that in some cases this had to be done two or three times before the youth would stick to a job. Springfield Goodwill Industries enrolled only youthful offenders in its workshop and found in followup of both workshop graduates and dropouts that the dropouts returned to crime while the graduates had job stability (i.e., majority of youth stayed on same job for more than 6 months). Philadelphia JEVS and other projects generally found that without followup counseling support, many youth would lose or leave employment.

Sheltered workshop activities through E&D projects for disadvantaged youth have demonstrated that they can serve as a type of individualized work experience that provides youth with work adjustment skills needed for success in skill training or employment. The projects indicated that their major shortcoming was not additional time for workshop exposure but lack of resources for basic education instruction. The special sensitivity of sheltered workshops to physical and mental handicaps and multiple problems that are barriers to successful performance in training or jobs enabled the projects to diagnose disabilities and other problems of disadvantaged youth readily and to take the necessary remedial steps. Finally, the early recognition by workshops that postplacement support counseling is required to insure youth job stability is an E&D finding which is now getting serious recognition in regular MDTA efforts.

A comprehensive review of the E&D-sponsored sheltered workshop activities at Philadelphia JEVS has appeared as a series of articles in the *Employment Service Review,* published by the U.S. Department of Labor. These articles have been reprinted in a single report entitled *Preparing Disadvantaged Youth for Work.*

Vestibule Training. In early E&D projects, the term vestibule training was applied to various real-work schemes to provide short-term work experience for both job-adjustment skills and minimum specific work skills needed by youth in order to gain employment. Generally, this was nonsubsidized training. In some cases, employers were persuaded to set up a "vestibule" using their machinery, which a youth would operate (producing nonmarketed items) until he was ready to begin work on a regular paid job. Sometimes employers provided trainers for such an operation.

It must be recognized that during 1963-1964, the period covered by this report, the only available regular manpower training programs were institutional and on-the-job training under the MDTA. Because of the great problems experienced by E&D projects in attempting to enroll disadvantaged youth in regular MDTA programs, as well as the various inadequacies of these programs for meeting the needs of such youth, the projects attempted to design short-term tailor-made training to provide minimum skills needed for entry employment. Unless projects had private foundation or similar funds available to them, such training was nonsubsidized. Vestibule training was the term applied to training that was conducted in real work situations.

The best example of vestibule training by an E&D project was at St. Louis JEVS. This training was used to supplement sheltered workshop activities. Youth were paid the minimum hourly wage for working in the workshop 4 hours a day, and received no pay for 3 hours of vestibule training. This training was limited to specific jobs for which openings were available in industry. Food service training was done in the project's cafeteria, which served project personnel and outsiders. The trainees ran the entire cafeteria operation. Nurse aide training also was conducted. Part of the project facility had been set up to simulate a hospital area and was supervised by a registered nurse. Trainees read books, attended lectures, and also learned by performing the tasks they would have to do as nurse aides in a hospital. They practiced bathing one another, taking temperatures, checking blood pressure, making beds, and caring for wheel chair patients.

Vestibule training at St. Louis JEVS avoided traditional classroom instruction, and instructors emphasized at all times that the project could place the trainee in the specific job covered by the vestibule training. The training environment was industrial, with trainees punching time clocks and expected to develop positive work attitudes and habits. The project's experience indicated that youth could be placed in jobs after about 8 weeks of vestibule training.

The great merit of vestibule training was that it was related directly to immediate employer needs and frequently involved the employer in its planning or implementation. It is only recently that regular manpower programs have recognized the role that must be played by employers in the manpower development of the disadvantaged.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

While vocational training innovations were undertaken by E&D projects, the scope of such activity was limited by MDTA funding arrangements. With few exceptions, the E&D projects were not funded to control directly, develop, and/or conduct vocational training. They had to work through: (1) the State Employment Service and State and local vocational education agencies for the establishment of MDTA institutional training, utilizing the facilities, staff, and resources of the public school system, and (2) the field offices of BAT for the approval of MDTA on-the-job training. These working arrangements proved to be much less than desirable.

Fortunately, the need to innovate in the area of vocational training of disadvantaged youth was recognized by the U.S. Office of Education (OE) and by some State and local vocational education agencies. As a result, some E&D projects (i.e., New York City YMCA, Chicago JOBS, City of Detroit, Crusade for Opportunity (CFO) Syracuse, N.Y., and Draper) were granted considerable control over the operations of MDTA training courses. This made it easier for these projects to seek new ways to train disadvantaged youth for job skills. Also, recognition by the national office of BAT that improvement was needed with respect to opportunities for minority group persons to enter OJT and apprenticeship led to a base of E&D experience (by MFY, JOBS, CPI, ABCD, YOB, National Institute for Labor Education (NILE), etc.), which ultimately played an important role in expanding the national OJT program.

Overall, the E&D projects for disadvantaged youth found that OJT proved to be much more effective than MDTA institutional courses (except for skill centers) with respect to the ability of these youth to complete training and obtain training related jobs. However, it should be noted that to a great degree the projects found that: (1) MDTA institutional training was conducted inappropriately in traditional classroom style by vocational school teachers in public school systems, a situation which disadvantaged youth rejected, and (2) BAT often would not approve OJT for highly desirable jobs, presumably because of conflict between such skill training and the established apprenticeship system.

When the MDTA program was refocused in 1966, with approximately 65 percent of the entire training effort being person-oriented and directed toward members of the disadvantaged population, the role of OJT was expanded at the expense of institutional training resources (except for skill centers). It is quite apparent that E&D experience in connection with vocational training in 1963-66 was given critical attention in the development of plans for implementing the 1966 shift in focus of the MDTA program.

At this point, it is appropriate to provide some perspective on the bureaucratic difficulties encountered by E&D projects with respect to arranging for vocational training to meet the needs of disadvantaged youth. Such background information will enable the reader to attach proper significance to the specific E&D achievements in vocational training discussed later in this paper. The discussion which follows is enriched by much relevant detail reported in chapter one, "Impact on the Community" by Edward M. Glaser, Managing Associate, Edward Glaser & Associates, and President, Human Interaction Research Institute, both located in Los Angeles.

Reports from E&D projects across the country have indicated that established agency staff (i.e., State Employment Service, BAT field offices, and State and local vocational education agencies) were usually defensive and hostile in their attitudes toward and relationships with the projects. Their view generally was that the projects represented a critical rival, and that the mere existence of a project implied criticism of their own abilities and efforts to meet manpower development problems. Also, agency staff often were pictured as being very proficient at finding reasons why something new could not be done, and as being very passive with respect to their desire to get things done.

In dealing with a State ES to arrange for the preparation of initial actions (i.e., determining training need and trainee allowances through preparation of forms MT-1 and MT-2) for establishment of MDTA institutional training, the projects experienced severe time delays, poor coordination and cooperation, and unreliable feedback concerning the status of these actions.

Similar experiences are reported by the projects concerning their relationships with vocational education agencies (usually the State Department of Education and local boards of education) in efforts to have required forms prepared for the planning, staffing, and operations of training courses. Too many of the staffs had little understanding of or appreciation for the problems and needs of disadvantaged youth. This was often reflected in the establishment of MDTA training programs which had inappropriate (1) standards for admission, (2) curriculums control, (3) instructors, and (4) physical settings, and which were too inflexible to overcome these deficiencies.

The initial period (about 6 months) during which E&D projects had developed OJT opportunities for subcontracting arrangements with employers was a period of deep frustration for the projects because very few OJT situations were approved by BAT field representatives. Many of the project directors and staff felt that this resulted from unclear national procedures and guidelines for OJT subcontract approval. However, even when significant improvement was made in the procedures and forms to be used for OJT approval, the projects found that unions and BAT field representatives often objected to approval of meaningful training opportunities (i.e., training for job skills which were in demand) on the grounds that they conflicted with the objectives and standards of the apprenticeship training programs.

Where OJT opportunities were approved for subcontract, many times the long delay in getting BAT approval was cause for the employer to lose interest in providing OJT.

The project sponsors reported that BAT

staff felt that the new responsibilities under MDTA-OJT could only be discharged at the expense of their regular work for apprenticeship programs for which they felt a greater commitment. As was true of the vocational education staffs, they had very limited understanding of the peculiar problems and needs of disadvantaged youth.

Institutional Training

Classroom training for vocational skills had a long history when the MDTA was adopted. It was natural that much of the new law's emphasis should support training to be implemented by vocational schools (assisted by earlier Federal legislation), which were already widespread and generally administered by public school systems.

However, in 1963 - 64, disadvantaged youth could not be attracted to, qualified for, or held in public school vocational training courses under MDTA because they did not have the basic education skills required by the skill training curriculums; and the school-training environment was a deterring factor to trainees who already had experienced failure in the public school system. In addition to these difficulties, several others should be added:

1. Training courses were generally scheduled rigidly, sometimes to conform to academic terms. Also, Federal-State processing and approval of each course took many months, and new trainees were generally not admitted after the classes had gotten underway. These circumstances meant that projects were forced to hold prospective trainees for many months before training courses would be open to them. Given the need of the participants for action in a hurry, this was most discouraging. It led to some holding-tank operations which could not really be disguised. Projects needed vocational training arrangements to which they could send their participants as soon as possible after their enrollment, and this would have required a continually open class in which trainees were at many different stages of learning.

2. Vocational schools often were equipped with badly outdated machinery and staffed by teachers unsympathetic to the multiple needs of disadvantaged persons and incapable of adopting training methods that would appeal to them. For many teachers, MDTA instruction was a second job after an exhausting day of full-time work, a situation that precluded proper teaching attitudes.

3. Available training was generally for highly skilled jobs for which disadvantaged trainees lacked basic education skills. Their need was for training in less skilled jobs in which they could begin and from which they could in time advance to higher skills and better pay.

4. Basic education (after being authorized by the 1963 MDTA amendments) was not fused and conducted concurrently with vocational skills training. Generally, remedial education preceded skill training and was viewed by disadvantaged youth as simply "school work." As a result, they usually rejected this situation by dropping out of basic education and, thereby, failed to enter occupational training.

5. The initial MDTA institutional training courses were developed on a single project basis and were responsive only to the existing job market. Under these conditions, the needs, qualifications, goals, and aspirations of the individual trainees were completely ignored. Since very few courses were available in a community at any one time, the vocational counseling process was almost meaningless.

6. Very often disadvantaged youth were denied entrance to training because of their low test scores on the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) of the State Employment Service. Also, of those who managed to gain entrance into regular MDTA classes, many dropped out because of long delays in receipt of trainee allowance checks, health problems, lack of availability of "crisis" counseling at the training site, scheduling of training at night, and transportation difficulties, such as lack of carfare and inadequate public facilities.

As a means of meeting the vocational training needs of disadvantaged youth, E&D

projects set up many programs which included some or all of the following innovations:

1. Basic or remedial education training (later authorized for regular programing by MDTA amendment).

2. Programed instruction in both basic education and skill training to enable trainees to progress at their own pace.

3. Job-related basic education taught concurrently with vocational training.

4. Use of nonprofessional instructors who lacked teaching skills but possessed human relations skills.

5. Location of centralized training, support services, and facilities (i.e., skill centers) in or close to the target community.

6. Training in communication skills and in employment skills, such as work habits, expected standards of employee behavior, job finding, and work attitudes (later authorized for regular programing by MDTA amendment).

7. Physical examinations and minor medical treatment (later authorized for regular programing by MDTA amendment).

8. Multioccupational training with open-ended curriculums permitting trainees to enter at any given time and to move from one course to another as their training progressed.

9. Close working relationships between instructors and counselors and provision of counseling at training sites.

10. Use of special facilities and/or private organizations for training in special trade skills. (This was done in the latter situation when (a) the jobs involved were those for which skills were in great demand by employers, (b) the staff doing the training was expert in knowing both the job skills required by employers and how to teach these skills, and (c) those in control of the training activity were knowledgeable on union matters in the job trade and had the capability and resources for placing all trainee graduates in private employment at salaries above the minimum wage. Such was the case for the Carpet Training Institute, which trained PAL-Joey enrollees in carpet installation and placed all graduates in jobs as carpet installation mechanics at a starting salary of about $2 per hour. Other examples are MFY efforts in training and placing youth as jewelry craftsmen, and Neighborhood House enrollees being trained and placed as auto mechanics by the Standard Oil Company.)

As a response to the needs of disadvantaged youth, the E&D projects have been a major source from which knowledge has been gained for use in amending the MDTA in various ways other than those identified above. These include:

1. Expanding the maximum number of weeks that training can be given and allowances paid.

2. Broadening of the eligibility requirements for receipt of training allowances.

3. Payment of trainee transportation costs.

4. Making training allowances nondeductible from family welfare payments.

Special Approaches

The notable administrative and program approaches which have emerged from E&D efforts related to vocational training are: (1) Multioccupational training, (2) skill centers, (3) programed instruction, and (4) integrated basic education–job skill training. Each is discussed below.

Multioccupational Training. Without exception, the early E&D projects found that it was not possible to identify readily or determine realistically the skill potentials or appropriate occupational objectives for disadvantaged youth. Because of this, the projects appealed to the State and local vocational education agencies to change the standard funding procedure of approving one vocational course at a time, each having a different starting date and rigid restrictions on the enrollment period.

Instead of this arrangement, E&D project directors favored one which would (a) permit simultaneous approval of a variety of skill training courses, all of which would be cycled to be available to trainees at the same time, (b) allow trainees to receive broad exposure to several occupations in the first weeks of training, and then select suitable intensive training in specific job skills, (c) enable lateral movement of trainees from one specific course to another to meet their changing interests and abilities as they progressed in vocational training, and (d) be flexible enough to permit continuing basic education as needed.

This procedure for establishing training courses is now popularly known as "multioccupational training projects" and was first implemented in connection with the efforts of Chicago JOBS and quickly spread to CPI, Community Action for Youth (CAY), Cleveland, Ohio, AAY, YOB, and other projects. Beyond its value with respect to simultaneously establishing many different vocational training opportunities, the pattern of funding a multioccupational training project (i.e., "umbrella" project budget) facilitated arranging for adequate counseling services, basic education, and other support services needed by the disadvantaged.

The multioccupational training at JOBS covered courses for stenographer, typist, file clerk, mimeograph operator, offset operator, mail handler, addressograph and graphotype operator, receptionist, and general office clerk. All of the training courses were established at approximately the same time in the same facility. In the early weeks of the training program, each trainee explored the various types of available training. After this orientation period, the trainee selected the area of specialized training he preferred. By completion of the training program, many youth were able to acquire skills in several specialized areas.

Undoubtedly, the creation of multioccupational training represents the most significant impact made by the E&D projects with respect to influencing the regular MDTA institutional training program to meet more adequately the needs of disadvantaged persons. Inherent to the multioccupational training project is the person-oriented approach to manpower development (rather than the job market-oriented approach), which is required in transforming disadvantaged persons into productive employees. Therefore, it is not surprising that multioccupational training arrangements are now (1) standard in regular MDTA institutional training programing, (2) a basic tool in implementing the person-oriented approach underlying HRD, and (3) central to the establishment of skill centers.

Skill Centers. By definition, a skill center is a "centralized facility, generally under public school administration, especially designed to provide on a continuous basis, counseling and related services, work orientation, basic and remedial education, and institutional skill training in a variety of occupations for trainees recruited from a broad area. The center provides maximum utilization of physical and instructional resources and a high degree of flexibility, serving all types of MDTA trainees and all types of MDTA projects, including multioccupational and single projects, individual referrals and classroom components of coupled institutional–OJT projects." [4]

The skill center has been adapted widely by the regular MDTA program and is looked to as an entity which (a) disadvantaged persons identify as an institution of their own, and (b) responds in a person-oriented way to the education and training needs and behavior styles of the disadvantaged.

The skill center idea is an outgrowth of E&D work which demonstrated the administrative need for a coordinated multioccupational and multiservice single management framework in order to meet the manpower problems of the disadvantaged and to meet the economies required by limited funds for training and other services. More specifically, projects found that the greater the range of manpower development services provided under a single management system, the greater was the (a) flexibility and accuracy in determining the manpower needs of the disadvantaged applicant, (b) prospect for holding him in the program, (c) success in providing him with marketable skills, and (d) economy of overall costs per trainee.

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[4] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. *Education and Training: Learning for Jobs. 6th Annual Report of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Congress on Training Activities Under the Manpower Development and Training Act.* Washington: 1968, 96 pages.

The JOBS and CFO projects are best examples of E&D experience which preceded the formalizing and institutionalization of skill centers. Both were person oriented and could be characterized as follows:

1. Project staff and facilities were at one location, which was close to and convenient to the target disadvantaged population.

2. Institutional skill training resources were available for a variety of occupations of differing levels of skill and technology.

3. Basic and remedial education were available as needed by trainees and were linked to job skills training and given concurrently.

4. Counseling, and health and other supportive services (such as child day care and family counseling) were provided (or arranged through referrals) during the training period and subsequent to job placement.

5. OJT resources were utilized to move applicants into industry.

6. Work orientation to facilitate the development of work habits and job-finding skills was provided through prevocational workshops, group work, industrial field visits, and/or work experience on sheltered work stations.

7. Curriculums were (a) "open ended"—allowing trainees to enter or leave at any time according to individual need, (b) developed in consultation with industry representatives, and (c) centered around operations (i.e., handling real tools and equipment) rather than theory.

8. Instructors were drawn from the ranks of industrial foremen and other skilled craftsmen.

9. Job development and placement, and postplacement followup support were undertaken in an individual fashion (i.e., directed to the particular trainee's needs and potentials).

A tribute to the E&D program is the fact that the Syracuse Manpower Training Center, now in operation as a skill center financed completely through the regular MDTA program, started out as the CFO, E&D project. The project or demonstration skill center was located in an area within a half-hour walk from the neighborhoods of the youth to be recruited for training, and close to the major work center of the city. The idea was that youth going to the skill center could easily get there, and they would travel to the center in the same general direction as their elders going to work, thus reinforcing their self-concepts as working people.

The inside of the center was a realistic work setting, with industrial machinery for skill training arranged according to customary plant floor plans. Instructors were drawn from the ranks of craftsmen, not classroom teachers, and performed in the role of an industrial foreman.

Trainees were treated as workers, not students. Pay checks for training allowances were disbursed to trainees by the center in much the manner wages are paid in industry. The center's multioccupational training was conducted for a skill cluster covering many jobs, as compared to traditional training for only one specific job. Emphasis was placed on production and work, rather than on formal instruction.

The Syracuse skill center provided training in a wide variety or cluster of skills applicable to the field of electrical appliance repair. In totality, the training involved repair, reconditioning, and maintenance of small and large electrical appliances, including such items as hair dryers, toasters, radios, television sets, dishwashing machines, garbage disposals, power mowers, motors for small boats, etc. By training youth in a wide variety of related skills, the center enabled them to acquire greater potential for employability in a job market of changing employment opportunities.

The skill center training equipment consisted of small and large electrical appliances contributed by employers and private nonprofit groups. Use of these "real objects" in training, providing youth with lockers and shop coats, and placing trainees at a workbench were standard operations of the skill center, designed to overcome the trainees' resistance to traditional classroom work. Since the goods and services produced at the center were not marketed, MDTA training allowances could be and were paid.

Disadvantaged youth were enrolled in the skill center for a period of up to 26 weeks and were first assigned to the small appliances section. Foremen provided individual and group instruction. When youth developed proficiency with small appliances, they were moved to another area of the shop and put to work on large appliances. Youth who expressed an interest in radio and television repair were provided an opportunity to obtain intensive advanced training in electrical theory and wiring.

The overall intent of the program was to have a youth engaged in meaningful work that he could master and to provide as high a level of skill as possible in the area of interest to the trainee. This system takes into account the varying abilities and motivations of trainees, gives them a chance to sample a number of types of work, and makes up, in a way, for their initial limited knowledge of occupations and the job market.

Counseling activities played a major supportive role for the trainee in the skill center. Both individual and group counseling sessions were used and emphasized the vocational aspects of the training activities. The industrial foremen worked closely with the counselors, who often intervened to deal with specific problems which arose or manifested themselves during work activities in the center. Field trips to various industrial sites were conducted in connection with counseling activities.

In keeping with the center's intent to deemphasize classroom instruction, no basic education was initially provided. However, it was not long before this was found to be necessary in order for the youth to make progress in developing job skills. At first, the center arranged for free nighttime tutorial assistance for some youth, while others received assistance at the Syracuse University remedial reading clinic. Later in the project, basic education was incorporated within the scope of activities in the skill center and was fused with actual skill training.

Nearly half of the trainees enrolled in the Syracuse skill center dropped out of training. Since almost all of the trainees had criminal records, these results are considered satisfactory relative to the findings of other manpower development efforts concentrating on delinquents. On the more positive side, almost all trainees who did not drop out were placed successfully in either training-related employment or on-the-job training in industry.

In 1967, more than 50 skill centers were being operated nationwide by the public education system. This attests to the fact that E&D efforts have served in the role of innovator-change agent for the system.

Programed Instruction. The E&D projects experienced many difficulties in holding disadvantaged youth in vocational training because of the lack of appropriate tools to teach and train such youth. State vocational education agencies were generally complacent with respect to the development of special-purpose education and training methods and techniques. The youth or the projects were blamed by educators for the lack of success of their traditional teaching methods. However, the Office of Education did perceive the need for and value of developing programed materials for instructing the disadvantaged. As a result, a number of projects were able to utilize both E&D and regular MDTA financial resources and set out to develop and apply new vocational training materials and curriculums.

The two projects which were most successful in developing new teaching tools through the application of programed instruction methodology were the New York City YMCA and Draper. Both developed programed instruction for occupational skills and basic education skills.

The YMCA project provided the setting for a private educational firm to develop programed instruction materials for training boys to be either automobile service station mechanics or general machine operators. The training program for each required 225 hours of trade instruction and was aimed at preparing youth for the job entry level. The project's final report provides considerable detail on each of the following developmental stages in the process of creating the new programed vocational training materials:

1. Analysis of the education skills and knowledge of the trainee population before training.

2. Analysis of the tasks and knowledge necessary to meet certain occupational objectives, including the ability to read and compute.

3. A matching of these two analyses to identify specific skills and knowledge that would need to be taught.

4. Construction of a programed instructional curriculum designed to lead the trainee step by step from his entering level to the occupational objective.

5. Testing and revision of the programed materials.

Intrinsic to the programed instruction approach is the development of learning materials that are largely self-administered, self-corrected, and self-paced by the learner. Having disadvantaged youth proceed on their own with the programed materials did present some problems. The trainees would invariably consult each other to compare their rates of progress through the material and, thereby, identify the slow and fast learners. This resulted in considerable peer pressure to work through the programed books as quickly as possible in order not to appear inferior and to get on to the more positively valued aspects of the training programs, such as shopwork and group discussions. Another reason why self-pacing was not achieved by the trainees was their tendency to cheat by looking at the next page for the answer. The project reported that the pacing and cheating problems could be resolved in future efforts through the use of teaching machines.

In spite of the problems experienced with the use of book-type programed instruction for training automobile service station mechanics and general machine operators, various outcomes of the YMCA project support the use of this method to teach disadvantaged youth. Since the YMCA had conducted five cycles of vocational training without the use of programed instruction, it was possible to compare the outcomes for trainees in those cycles with outcomes for trainees in the three training cycles utilizing programed materials. The project statistics show that, after introducing programed instruction in training, the proportion of trainees who complete training is increased significantly (i.e., 80 percent complete training after use of programed instruction as compared to 60 percent before its use); the total number of trainees who could be trained at once in the program increased; and the project experienced its greatest degree of success in placing youth in jobs in the trade for which they had been trained.

Recognition of the work of the YMCA project was given by the National Automobile Dealers Association. Some of the project's programed materials were incorporated into the training curriculums for a large-scale effort, sponsored by the Association, to train disadvantaged youth as automobile mechanics.

As indicated in this report's discussion of vocational training for prison inmates, the E&D work at Draper involved the development of programed instruction materials for basic education and for a wide range of vocational training courses. These materials have aroused nationwide interest and probably will be used by other correctional institutions, as well as other agencies and organizations serving people with comparable education. The project's experience with the use of programed material shows that it can increase the number of trainees an instructor can handle on an individual basis, reach many trainees who otherwise would fail, sharpen the motivation of the trainees to succeed, and curtail idle time in the classroom. The basic education program taught by programed instruction has shown that in 200 hours it can produce a 1½-grade increase in literacy skills, as measured by the Metropolitan Achievement Tests.

The developmental stages for preparing the Draper programed instruction materials are similar to those listed above in describing the YMCA work. Also, reports from the Draper project provide considerable detail on the mechanics of the developmental work. The actual programing technique employed is called "Mathetics," which uses task analysis and a great many writing styles. The programed materials developed at Draper fall in three categories: (1) self-instructional, self-contained "teaching lessons" that require only the book, the student, and a pencil; (2) self-instructional "teaching lessons," to be used in conjunction with machinery, tools, and other equipment; and (3) self-instructional guidelines to be used with machinery, tools, and other equipment. These materials are available at cost.

A report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice commends the E&D program at Draper. In the report, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society,* Draper is cited as one of two correctional institutions (along with the National Training School for Boys, Washington, D.C.) making the most significant application of programed instruction in vocational training. The report recommends Federal support for general development of special programed materials of the type used at Draper.

Integrated Basic Education-Job Skill Training. As indicated earlier, the E&D projects found that many disadvantaged youth who were enrolled in MDTA institutional training dropped out in the basic education phase, which usually preceded vocational training. The primary reason for this was that the basic education instruction was no more than a repeat of the traditional classroom situation, in teaching techniques and subject content, which these youth had rejected when they became school dropouts.

As a means of making basic education palatable to disadvantaged youth, E&D projects innovated with respect to methods of instruction, education materials, physical setting for learning, and other relevant matters. The procedure for providing basic education which seemed the most appropriate in the view of E&D project directors was to have the instruction given simultaneously with and integrated into job skill training. Many projects recommended this strictly on the basis of their study of what happened to project youth who were enrolled in MDTA institutional training run by State and local vocational education agencies. However, the potential values of simultaneous, integrated basic education-job skill training were experienced by the few projects that were able to arrange to control MDTA institutional training and, thereby, operate outside of the traditional vocational education system.

The projects at New York City YMCA, Chicago JOBS, and City of Detroit offer experiences which support the fact that disadvantaged youth have the interest and motivation for basic education when it is set up within the time frame and shop language content of job skill training. The values of this procedure most likely stem from the following circumstances created in order to implement it:

1. *Basic education instructors must work in close coordination with vocational skill teachers and use vocational education texts and materials to develop new "tailor made" curriculums.* Traditional school teachers will usually reject this because of its great variance from what they know how and like to do. Industrial foremen and counselors find the task challenging and usually have other virtues (e.g., desire to solve the trainee's personal problems), which are deterred by the school teachers' concept of professional detachment but which help create a bond with the trainee. At the YMCA, the programed instruction curriculums developed for reading and arithmetic skills were designed so that they could relate to the trade training programed instruction curriculums developed for teaching job skills in automobile mechanics and machine operation. Basic education was scheduled for morning hours with trade instruction in the afternoon. However, at times the frequency of basic education instruction was increased to insure that trainees had sufficient literacy skills to make progress in skill training.

2. *Basic education and job skills must be taught simultaneously.* When basic education is provided as part of the daily training program, education and job skill training become a continuous process, with education being intimately related to the acquisition of occupational skills. Also, scheduling of simultaneous basic education requires that the physical facilities for it be in the same room or in close proximity to the vocational training units. This reduces the possibility of having broken-down school classrooms in any part of town assigned as facilities for basic education instruction. Also, it enables education and vocational instructors to confer with each other conveniently and frequently.

The advantage of teaching job and basic education skills together is that shopwork and the learning of manipulative skills can provide the motivation for learning language and computational skills. For example, the frustration of not being able to make appropriate auto mechanic repairs because of lack of ability to read an automotive manual can provide the necessary stimulus for eliciting the interest and motivation required for developing the literacy skills needed by the auto mechanic.

In working closely with vocational skill teachers in order to carry shop content over to remedial education, E&D project personnel quickly realized that these teachers could provide much information on the psychological-social behavior problems of the youth in training. As a result, the YMCA and City of Detroit projects created a job classification for which the job duties involved required the staff person to be both counselor and basic education instructor. The YMCA classified the job as "life skills educator"; the City of Detroit called it "work-education coordinator" (see discussion on Dispersed Worksites). In these jobs, the YMCA was able to employ successfully subprofessional high school graduates having social work aspirations. The City of Detroit had success with licensed teachers who were selected because of their industrial experience, commitment [illegible] helping the disadvantaged, and flexibility in approaching teaching and personal problems. This project also reported that it was not necessary to employ only indigenous personnel in these jobs.

It is interesting that in the vocational units at JOBS, basic education instructors provided job-related education and also saw the need to provide counseling services, even though it was not their responsibility to do so. Reports from the project indicate that this situation created frequent conflicts between counselors and basic education instructors. The same was reported by MFY with respect to basic education activities supervised by crew chiefs. Thus, it appears that serious attention should be given to the roles to be played by counselors and basic education instructors, particularly when the basic skills instruction is related to job skill training.

Special Populations

E&D projects have highlighted the feasibility, methods, and efficacy of training prison inmates and volunteer military rejectees. These are special populations within the universe of disadvantaged persons in the sense that special opportunity is available to them, but they cannot succeed in it without special training.

Jobs skills can enable the incarcerated person to succeed in the opportunity of being returned to living in the free community. Special literacy and related skills can enable volunteers rejected for military service to succeed in the opportunity for a military career.

E&D efforts involving both special populations have gained wide recognition.

Prison Inmates. In 1966, Congress amended the MDTA to provide for ". . . programs of training and education for persons in correctional institutions who are in need thereof to obtain employment upon release." The expansion of regular MDTA institutional training responsibility to include prerelease prison training was stimulated largely by E&D experiences in 1964-65 at the Draper and Lorton centers. To inform administrators and other concerned people about the new program, the Department of Labor authorized Draper staff to conduct regional conferences on the findings of E&D experience in prison inmate training. These conferences have included Employment Service representatives, vocational rehabilitation officers, vocational educators, corrections administrators, and probation and parole officers.

The Lorton and Draper E&D projects were directed at youthful offenders and undertaken within the walls of penal institutions. Inmates who volunteered for training were exposed to comprehensive services for vocational guidance, remedial education, and skill training. Job skills were provided in such occupations as barbering, radio and television repair, painting, welding, and automobile mechanics. The striking results of these projects showed that, by providing incarcerated youth with vocational skills during their prison stay, their experience when released to the free community was that of increased employability and decreased criminal behavior. In effect, the projects showed that, by volunteering to participate in prison-based MDTA vocational training, inmates "do more than time."

The impetus for the Lorton and Draper projects was the need to develop more effective vocational preparation for inmates prior to their release, as a means of increasing their employability when released and, thereby, increasing their potential for a law-abiding life. This objective had much social significance in view of the fact that many of this country's serious crimes have been committed by ex-prisoners and studies have shown a direct relationship between rates of recidivism and the inability of ex-inmates to maintain employment.

Over the years, State and Federal prisons have been more concerned with providing work activity for prisoners than with providing programs of intensive basic education and vocational training for higher level marketable job skills. While various types of on-the-job training in prison industries have been available for many years, such training has not generally provided inmates with marketable job skills upon their release from prison. The primary reasons for this circumstance are that regularity of work and its other self-disciplining characteristics are not present in prison industry employment; prison production standards have little relation to those in industry; job skills required of inmates are limited to only the narrow range of production and maintenance activities undertaken in prison industries; and many prison industry jobs have little relevance to those in private industry (e.g., production of auto-license plates, prison garments, etc.) because prison policies seek to avoid types of production that are in competition with private enterprise.

The initial E&D project at Lorton provided a program of counseling and skill training to 200 young male prisoners. The prisoners were trained for occupations for which job opportunities were available in the Washington, D.C., area. These occupations included barber, automotive repairman, building service and maintenance man, food service worker, office clerk, radio and TV repairman, and painter. MDTA institutional training was provided for 30 hours a week, with most trainees enrolled over a 26-week period.

The most successful programs were those for barber and automobile service and repairman. The 16 graduates of barber training who were given the apprentice barber examination by the Board of Barber Examiners for the District of Columbia passed it and earned their apprentice barber license. At the close of the project, 14 of these trainees had been paroled, and all were employed in Washington barber shops.

The automobile service and repairman training also proved to be successful in placing its graduates in training-related jobs upon their parole from prison. In conducting this training, CITGO Oil Company furnished the services of an instructor and various pieces of up-to-date equipment. Also, used automobiles for use as training aids were contributed to the project by many auto dealers.

The least successful of the vocational training programs at Lorton was that for radio and television repairman. The project reported the following regarding termination of the training: ". . . it was discovered that this program was not practical because of the intellectual requirements, low salary scale and poor employment possibilities for persons with criminal records."

At completion of the initial Lorton project in January 1966, 89 of those completing vocational training had been paroled and 87 were placed in jobs. Of these 87, almost 90 percent were placed in jobs for which they had been trained. The project's report shows that only 8 of the 89 parolees, or about 11 percent, were recidivists, while the usual rate of return to prison for Lorton parolees is 40 to 50 percent.

The figures on recidivism reported by Lorton, and other figures which presumably will be reported when there is widespread MDTA training in correctional institutions, should be interpreted with caution. Under no circumstances should they be considered the prime criterion for evaluating training effectiveness. Even minimally reliable and valid figures on recidivism cannot be obtained without long-term followup data (such as data collected 1 to 3 years after parole) on the status of the ex-inmate. Also, even if recidivism rates (measured 1 to 3 years after parole) could be somewhat reduced, the longitudinal stability of that finding would depend on whether the parolees' employment history has been improved. Therefore, it follows that data on type of employment and amount of earnings are more meaningful measures of training effectiveness.

A long-term followup study on E&D project trainees was conducted by The Catholic University of America. The study included a sample of the first 39 trainees who were paroled from Lorton. The most significant findings were that the recidivism figures reported by Lorton were inaccurate and increased over time; that the trainees who did not return to prison were employed and had improved their work history with respect to type of job and salary; and that the latter group of ex-inmates expressed much optimism about their opportunities for advancement on the job.

The E&D program at Draper provided vocational training for jobs as combination welders, small electrical appliance repairmen, bricklayers, auto service station mechanic attendants, barbers, radio and television repairmen, and technical writers. The training period for the last two jobs is 52 weeks; and for each of the other jobs it is 26 weeks. Intensive counseling and both social and basic education courses complemented vocational training for 200 male inmates aged 16 to 26.

A prominent feature of the Draper training was the development and use of programed instruction materials for basic education and the classroom phases of job skill training. Basic literacy skills of potential trainees (such as inmates who volunteered for training) were evaluated 3 to 6 months in advance of the start of vocational training. It was found that during this period, with the use of programed instruction in language arts and mathematics, inmates could overcome their basic education deficiencies and be readied for vocational training.

The E&D project at Draper established a special materials development unit responsible for both the development of programed instruction materials and the packaging of these for use under MDTA or other State and Federal vocational training programs. However, it should be noted that plans are in the making for use of Draper's curriculums and programed instruction materials by other correctional institutions around the country in connection with regular MDTA training to be established under authority of the 1966 amendment to the act.

The effectiveness of vocational training given at Draper is reflected adequately in selected statistics and other facts reported by the project. Only 10 percent of the inmates enrolled in vocational training did not complete it. Nearly 40 prisoners waived early parole to complete this training. Of the first 100 trainees released from prison, 96 were placed in jobs, and 75 were employed in occupations for for which they received training. Followup data collected 12 to 18 months after trainees were released from Draper show that only 20 percent of the group returned to prison or jail. Companies hiring the released trainees have requested more of them to fill additional job openings. Also, the barbers union in Alabama accepted prison-trained ex-inmates on a regular basis because of the high level of job proficiency displayed by these men.

While the E&D experience with prerelease prison training generally has been looked upon as one of great achievement, at least two operational problems that were not overcome must be noted. These problems should receive immediate attention in light of the Federal goal to provide training to 5,000 prisoners under MDTA in the next few years.

The first problem concerns the inability to plan the duration of training cycles within the prison sentencing structure. The large majority of offenders are paroled prior to serving their complete sentences, but parole boards will not provide information on the possibility of an inmate's parole 6 to 12 months in advance of such action. Because of the uncertainty of parole dates and the unpredictable aspects of indeterminate sentencing, it is not possible to plan the completion of vocational training cycles to coincide with dates of release from prison. Those who complete training but are not paroled for some time thereafter must be placed in regular prison work assignments.

Few of these assignments are training related. As a consequence, knowledge and skill developed in training dissipates over time due to lack of continuity and practice of these attributes. One possible solution would be to link the training with work release programs now authorized in many States.

The second problem which was difficult to overcome and which can limit the effectiveness of the vocational training program concerns the conflict between the daily time demands of training and the time demands of activities to meet the housekeeping and other needs of correctional institutions. Effective vocational training requires trainee participation at least 30 hours per week. However, this is often difficult for prisons to arrange on a long-term basis (such as for the entire duration of training) because they rely on prison labor for prison industries (which bring in needed moneys), as well as for preparing and serving meals, cleaning laundry, repairing vehicles, maintaining buildings, etc.

Development of effective vocational training programs requires the strong support of management of correctional institutions. The institutional administrator must recognize the importance of vocational training as a rehabilitative tool and must assure that inmate training is not subordinated to the productivity of the system or to the purpose of maintaining the institution.

Volunteers Rejected for Military Service. E&D projects operated in Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Md., by the NCCY served young men 17 to 22 years of age, all of whom were Armed Forces volunteers rejected as unqualified for military service because of academic deficiencies. The projects clearly demonstrated that through classroom training these youth could be upgraded during a brief period to enable them to meet requirements for entrance into the Armed Forces.

Since 1964, NCCY E&D activities have been recognized by education and manpower agencies as being both appropriate and successful in raising disadvantaged youth from the ranks of the unemployed. This is evidenced by the fact that USES YOC's in six cities have adopted the NCCY program. However, the NCCY was not successful in having appropriate institutional training courses established by the vocational education system. For some time this was not possible under MDTA. But in 1966 MDTA authorization was provided for establishing basic education and employment skills training courses alone without connecting vocational training, for persons who could become employable with only such basic training.

The few MDTA institutional training programs made available to NCCY enrollees proved much less efficient than the project's "shoestring" nighttime efforts. The methods and content of regular MDTA basic education instruction were quite traditional and inflexible, and very poorly suited to the enrollees, who dropped out of training at an alarming high rate. For this reason and others, NCCY steered away from courses established under MDTA in its attempts to qualify academically deficient youth for the Armed Forces.

It is discouraging to report that, even when the way is marked out, MDTA institutional courses of instruction for disadvantaged youth apparently cannot be established under the vocational educational system to meet the specific needs of these youth. One project, conducted by the NCCY, was able to achieve success and spread its program to other cities by concentrating on areas other than skill training.

NCCY recruited volunteer military rejectees through cooperative arrangements with Armed Forces recruiting stations. Eligible youth were those (usually school dropouts) who failed either the Armed Forces Enlistment Screening Test (EST) or the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT). Generally, success on the EST is followed by success on the AFQT, the final screening device. The majority of youth in the project had failed the EST, an instrument for assessing vocabulary, mathematics, abstract reasoning, and tool recognition.

Youth recruited by NCCY were counseled immediately and questioned regarding their interest in upgrading their qualifications in order to enter military service. Those who indicated interest were enrolled in special coach class training, while the others were generally referred to appropriate helping agencies. The coach classes were held three nights a week, 2 to 3 hours a night, and were cycled over an 8-week period. There were no training allowances. The class instruction was geared to the subject areas examined by the EST. Through its resourcefulness, the NCCY arranged for teachers and classroom space to be provided at no cost under auspices of the city school system's nighttime adult education program. NCCY staff provided individual and group counseling and other supportive services as part of the coach program. Also, NCCY provided job development and placement services for youth who ultimately did not enter the Armed Forces. Some youth who had great interest in self-improvement were able to take advantage of the availability of daytime individual tutoring at NCCY.

Project records show that at least 55 percent of the youth enrolled in coach class training completed the 8-week cycle, with most of the dropouts occurring in the first 3 weeks. More importantly, they show that 75 percent of those completing training met Armed Forces requirements and have enlisted. More than half of all youth who participated in the coach classes and either dropped out or failed to enter the military were placed in full-time jobs.

In June 1966, the NCCY model was further developed in connection with efforts of YOC's in six cities. NCCY provided staff training and other technical assistance to these centers for the creation of programs to assist rejected military volunteers to qualify for military service, obtain meaningful civilian jobs, return to school, or enter regular manpower training programs. It is the writer's understanding that this effort has been successful and that the ES plans to implement the program in additional cities.

On-the-Job Training

Standard vocational training under the MDTA includes provision for instruction in job skills on actual jobsites in private industry—widely known as OJT.

At the beginning of MDTA programing, field representatives of BAT solicited the interest of employers in providing OJT. Those who elected to participate contracted with the Department of Labor to train unemployed or underemployed persons at the jobsite and to pay wages to the trainees and be reimbursed by the Department for training costs (instructors, materials, etc.).

Soon after the OJT program was implemented, it was recognized that disadvantaged persons generally were not being given the opportunity for this training. The reasons were quite apparent. BAT field representatives were not in the position to know how to sell employers on the capabilities of the disadvantaged for OJT. Also, because of the limited size of the BAT field staff as well as their background experience in developing apprentice training for high-level skills, early OJT contracts (1) were written with only large firms which could enroll simultaneously at least 10 trainees at a single location, (2) covered occupations requiring training over a period of at least 26 weeks, and (3) involved training which required trainees to have good basic education skills at the start of the OJT period.

However, disadvantaged persons were in need of (a) highly individualized and flexible instruction that could be given only when an employer had very few trainees, (b) training opportunities not requiring high literacy skills and in which undereducated persons could succeed, and (c) OJT that could be completed relatively quickly without extending beyond the time range during which interest and motivation could be sustained.

The E&D projects had (a) knowledge of the problems and needs of the disadvantaged, (b) resources for providing prevocational skills (such as social skills, basic education, etc.) needed for success in OJT, (c) experience in working with small employers, and (d) expertise in selling employers on the capabilities of the disadvantaged. As a result of these circumstances, BAT tested at procedure in 1964 whereby the E&D project at MFY could solicit employers (primarily small ones) and develop contracts with them for OJT for even a single trainee. This procedure, now widely known as "OJT community contracts" or "OJT subcontracting," worked very well at MFY and, therefore, was quickly introduced in other E&D projects around the country (i.e., CPI, ABCD, JOBS, YOB, PAL-Joey, and others). The next section of this report provides full details on the administrative arrangements and operational experience of OJT subcontracting by the E&D projects.

As the projects became deeply involved in the OJT program, they recognized the great need for basic education instruction to supplement jobsite training. The recognition of this need led to the notion of training programs that blended institutional and on-the-job training. This concept, now widely known as "coupled OJT," was first implemented through E&D projects (notably, NILE and City of Detroit) and is discussed more fully later in this report.

As previously indicated, the E&D projects found OJT to be better than institutional training (except for skill centers) as an approach to providing disadvantaged youth with marketable job skills. Chapter six, "Job Placement, Creation, and Development" by Louis A. Ferman, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan, points out that OJT has the distinct advantages of (a) being viewed by disadvantaged youth as "instant success" because they quickly are placed in real employment and receive a paycheck rather than an allowance, (b) utilizing training curriculums that are matched exactly to the job requirements of the employer, and (c) providing trainees (upon successful completion of training) with a decided advantage over other applicants in competing for job openings at the firm where OJT was given.

Other relevant factors reported by E&D projects are that (a) OJT was particularly suitable for the disadvantaged because such training readily could be developed to meet individual differences in needs, capability, and interest among applicants (through developing a specific training opportunity for a particular applicant, or matching an applicant to an OJT slot among a variety of OJT opportunities developed), (b) employers took considerable interest in the OJT trainee because E&D project personnel made regular followup visits to OJT worksites and other efforts to provide trainees with supportive services for assuring success in training, (c) periodic wage increments were often established during the OJT period, providing incentive for maintaining and increasing trainee motivation, and (d) 60 to 80 percent of OJT graduates obtained employment in jobs for which they were trained.

Further support of the positive experiences of E&D projects in using OJT resources to provide the disadvantaged with job skills is reflected in the following testimony of the executive director of CPI before the Employment and Manpower Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on September 14, 1965:

> . . . of all the various manpower training programs, our experience in New Haven has indicated that on-the-job training is the outstanding resource for delivering training experience quickly, effectively and economically.
>
> First of all, it provides immediate action, requiring very little paper work to set up, and making possible a quick link between a candidate and an employer. While institutional training programs require twelve to fifteen openings in a job area before an institutional training program can be established, OJT requires just one job and one employer. It has proved, for this and other reasons, to be particularly effective with the small employer.
>
> OJT serves as a real spur to small business because it gives an employer, who otherwise might not be able to compete with large industry for trained help, technical assistance along with some reimbursement for training costs. Also, OJT is effective in the rapidly expanding service field. Finally, a close relationship is established between the community action agency, with its available battery of services to the unemployed, and the actual employers who will be training the candidate.

As indicated earlier, in 1966 the main thrust of the MDTA program was shifted to the disadvantaged population. With this new focus, the role of OJT was expanded. The decision to emphasize OJT in efforts for manpower development of the disadvantaged was, in part, based upon E&D project experience in utilizing OJT resources.

OJT subcontracting and coupled OJT

programs initially were implemented through E&D projects and are now standard arrangements in regular OJT programing. E&D experiences with these arrangements follow.

OJT Subcontracting. To facilitate the development of OJT opportunities for disadvantaged youth, E&D project contractors were permitted to function as agents for BAT in finding employers willing to accept disadvantaged youth as trainees, writing the training plan, subcontracting with employers for OJT, placing these youth in training, and monitoring their progress. In writing OJT subcontracts, employers dealt directly with E&D project staff and not with Government officials. This procedure proved particularly valuable in opening OJT opportunities in small shops where owners and managers were often reluctant to get involved with Government personnel and "red tape."

MFY was the first E&D project contractor to pioneer the procedure of OJT subcontracting by a non-Government agency. Using BAT funds, MFY was authorized to reimburse employers for training costs incurred in the course of providing youth with bona fide training in a job for which the trainee could potentially be hired upon completion of training. The employers involved were generally the smaller ones, who could provide highly individualized training.

MFY's first year's experience proved the value of OJT subcontracting as a means of opening up appropriate training opportunities for disadvantaged youth. Not only were OJT opportunities obtained for these youth, but upon completion of training, approximately two-thirds of the 140 trainees obtained full-time employment in training-related jobs.

The experience of MFY and other E&D projects, serving as prime contractors of the Federal Government for the administration of OJT funds for reimbursement to employers through subcontracting, had many positive effects. Notable accomplishments include:

1. Establishment of the current fiscal procedure whereby OJT is arranged through simplified "fixed fee" rather than complex "cost reimbursement" contracts.

2. Development of the short-form application for use in stating the goals and responsibilities of the OJT contract.

3. Creation of the subcontracting procedure now used extensively in regular OJT programing whereby national associations serve as staff arms to BAT and undertake industry-wide efforts to establish OJT.

Notable E&D projects which utilized OJT subcontracting were MFY, CPI, ABCD, JOBS, YOB, and PAL-Joey. The major areas of project experience in establishing OJT opportunities for disadvantaged youth are as follows: locating employers for OJT sites; employer resistance toward OJT; employer misconceptions of OJT; and desirable OJT programing. Each of these areas of experience is discussed below.

Locating Employers for OJT Sites. The following techniques were utilized to identify employers who would subcontract for OJT:

1. Single Industry Approach: Inasmuch as many companies in a given metropolitan area manufacture similar products, it was profitable for a job developer to cover all producers in a given field. The cooperation of a union local within an industry was helpful in opening OJT opportunities within various companies. Also, the fact that an OJT site had been secured in one company within an industry could be used as a selling point with other industrial employers having similar personnel problems. The most important aspect of the single industry approach is that the person soliciting OJT (i.e., job developer) becomes expert in the skill needs and job categories within a particular industry. Employers tend to offer less resistance to establishing OJT sites when they feel confident about the job developer's knowledge of the industry and jobs involved in the training program.

2. Newspaper Job Want Ads: The best method for quick assessment of employment needs at any given time was inspection of newspaper job want ads. A job developer using these ads as a lead could often set up appointments with company officials to discuss the possibility of an OJT program for the company.

3. Cold Canvassing: The technique of unannounced solicitation of employers was an arduous, frustrating task but sometimes resulted in developing OJT sites. However, results were better if soliciting were accomplished first by phone—taking names of companies from a telephone directory and arranging for immediate interviews with company officials when interest in OJT was shown.

4. Pyramiding Established Relationships: Having once established an OJT site and mutual trust with an employer, the job developer often could enlist that employer's aid in getting personal introductions to officials in other firms to discuss OJT subcontracting.

5. Selected Mailings: At times, projects mailed a brochure to selected companies and unions explaining OJT subcontracting. Response to the brochure was only 10 to 15 percent of those solicited. However, OJT sites often were developed with employers who did respond.

6. Leads From Youth: Surprisingly enough, at times project youth would provide names of companies at which their friends obtained employment. In following up on such leads, a job developer learned that in many cases these companies, which had already opened their doors to disadvantaged youth, were eager to establish OJT sites.

Employer Resistance Toward OJT. The reasons most often given by employers for refusing to enter into OJT subcontracting were as follows:

1. They already had established training programs and were not interested in any financial arrangement connected with the Government.

2. Nonunion shops were afraid of union interference if they set up OJT sites.

3. The union having jurisdiction would not approve the OJT program because they viewed it as an attempt to undermine union scale wages or to fragment the occupation involved and adversely affect apprenticeship training standards.

4. The amount of reimbursement was insufficient to cover training costs, particularly because disadvantaged youth needed much highly individualized attention by highly paid supervisors and foremen, and because damage to expensive equipment was to be expected.

5. Too much paper work was involved in applying for BAT approval of an OJT program and in being reimbursed for training costs.

Employer Misconceptions of OJT. In following up the progress of trainees enrolled in OJT, it was often found that, where youth dropped out of training or were not developing marketable job skills, the employer had misconceptions about the purpose and/or requirements of the OJT subcontract. Notable examples follow:

1. Employers visualized their reimbursement as a Federal subsidy to buy jobs for disadvantaged youth, rather than as payment for actual training costs involved in providing these youth with job skills.

2. Employers did not readily understand the nature and extent of the educational deficiencies and social work-adjustment problems of disadvantaged youth and could not be persuaded to hold trainees in OJT by making certain adjustments in the daily practices and requirements of the OJT setting.

3. OJT sites were frequently in industrial production settings with trainees working alongside regular production employees. Consequently, supervisors had a tendency to compare the production of trainees to that of regular employees. These comparisons favored the employees and stimulated supervisors to curtail the extent of skill training.

4. Employers sometimes believed that any small amount of OJT subsequently could benefit disadvantaged youth and used this invalid rationalization as an excuse for suddenly terminating the OJT program because job applicants with needed skills unexpectedly became available to fill the employers' job vacancies.

5. Company officials who entered into the OJT subcontract did not readily perceive the

need to be in close communication with line staff (such as OJT supervisors and other subordinates) to explain company contractual obligations and related objectives in providing OJT, and to make necessary modifications in staff responsibilities. As a result, the staff involved in implementing the OJT program viewed it as added work and responsibility without extra pay and, therefore, were reluctant to provide youth with the individualized attention needed.

Desirable OJT Programing. Reports of several E&D projects identified a number of ways in which OJT subcontracting could be related more effectively to the needs of disadvantaged youth:

1. The single industry approach to developing OJT sites should be emphasized with primary attention given to small- to medium-sized companies.

2. OJT sites should not be established unless the employer has a concrete potential job opening for each trainee.

3. Where possible, job developers should develop OJT opportunities on the basis of knowledge concerning the needs, experience, and aspirations of specific youth. Thus, the development of OJT sites becomes individualized and the process of matching applicants to the training becomes more efficient.

4. Job developers working to establish OJT sites should utilize task analysis or job classification methods to describe the jobs covered by the training. This will facilitate more efficient selection and matching of prospective trainees to OJT opportunities.

5. OJT programs should include a progression of wages paid and skills developed as the training period progresses.

6. Employers should be required to provide special OJT facilities, highly proficient, full-time instructor-supervisors, highy proficient training curriculums developed prior to the start of OJT.

7. OJT at an employing firm should be established so that 2 to 5 trainees start simultaneously because (1) a lone trainee often experiences physical and emotional isolation, factors that can lead to dropping out of training, and (2) more than five trainees usually make it difficult for supervisors to provide each trainee with sufficient individualized attention needed for success in training.

8. OJT supervisors should receive special orientation with respect to the requirements of the OJT subcontract and to the needs and problems of disadvantaged youth. Company officials should be involved in the orientation to support special training arrangements which line staff may have to institute. Upon commencement of the program, followup visits to OJT sites by job developers and/or counselors should be used to further the orientation of company personnel.

9. Before being enrolled in a specific OJT opportunity, the trainee should visit the OJT site to obtain details on the employer involved, what he is expected to learn, and the training setting. The trainee should not be placed in OJT when his initial visit has not stimulated positive interest in the prospective training.

10. Prevocational training (such as basic education, work-experience adjustment, etc.) should precede OJT (for job skills) or be built into the OJT program as the first phase (i.e., a phase in which the youth is completely nonproductive but is getting oriented to the production training job encompassed by OJT). A youth should not start formal OJT unless his counselor, basic education instructor, and other staff agree that he has sufficient prevocational skill or "readiness" for job skill training.

11. Trainee travel to and from his OJT site should not take more than 1 hour each way nor involve excessively complicated transfers or double fares each way. The trainee should receive a special orientation on the use of the public transit system in traveling to and from his particular OJT site. In establishing OJT sites in rural areas, special transportation resources and/or relocation subsidies are usually needed.

12. A followup visit should be made to the OJT site within the first 2 days after the start of training and at least once every 2 weeks

thereafter to (1) aid in orienting the trainee, (2) assess the degree to which the contracted skill training is being provided, (3) check the trainee's pay record to insure that the wage specifications in the OJT contract are met, (4) consult with the OJT supervisor on the trainee's skill development and job behavior, (5) counsel the trainee on various personal and job problems, (6) mediate employer-trainee problems, and (7) arrange for needed support services (e.g., counseling, basic education, health, etc.) for the trainee.

13. Supportive services (i.e., counseling, basic education, etc.) should be as extensive as possible and readily available at the worksite rather than off the worksite.

14. OJT foremen and supervisors should be rewarded in some way for providing trainees with the highly individualized attention they need.

In summary, the early (i.e., 1963-64) work of E&D projects in OJT subcontracting showed that (1) industry would enter into a type of a partnership with Government in an effort to transform disadvantaged youth into productive workers, (2) small- to medium-sized employers could implement individualized training programs designed to prepare these youth for existing job vacancies, and (3) the large majority of these youth who completed training could obtain training-related jobs. However, to obtain these ends, E&D projects had to devote much staff time to contacting employers for the development of OJT sites, and had to use keen judgment to identify those employers who had both a supportive attitude toward disadvantaged youth and the special resources (such as instructors, facilities, etc.) needed to provide an effective training program.

Coupled OJT. A unique E&D approach to training disadvantaged youth, first undertaken in 1963, was to blend on-the-job training with supplementary nighttime classroom instruction in job-related basic education skills. This training arrangement was shown to be effective in providing the supplemental supportive knowledge needed by disadvantaged youth to succeed in OJT, meet employer hiring specifications, and/or qualify for apprenticeship training programs.

Combined school and work through the meshing of institutional training and OJT was not used widely under MDTA until 1966 (when OJT was first emphasized as a training method for use with the disadvantaged) and is now popularly referred to as "coupled OJT."

The NILE project was to open up skill-training opportunities in the construction trades for unemployed minority group school dropouts through a program of preapprenticeship training. Since many union leaders felt that modification of the standards for admission into apprenticeship would result in lowering the standards of the trade and overall skill of its members, it followed that efforts had to be made to upgrade each youth's knowledge and skill so that he would at least approximate the standards required of applicants for apprenticeship in a given trade or industry. The project sought to link union and industry cooperation to upgrade minority group youth to the point where they could qualify for admission to formal apprenticeship programs.

Arrangements were made for more than 600 disadvantaged youth to take both on-the-job (for occupational skills) and institutional training (for literacy skills) as a prerequisite for acceptance into the apprenticeship system. Specific details on the coupled OJT period, as well as credits to be given, depended on the requirements of the trade or industry, the academic deficiencies of the trainee, and the skill and devotion to the job during the "training for apprenticeship" period.

Most of the union-sponsored training programs lasted 12 months, and the average wage paid was $1.91 per hour. Preapprenticeship programs developed for carpenters and truck mechanics in Washington, D.C., painters in New Jersey, and bricklayers in Connecticut and Kentucky represent a sample of the programs developed. The most notable success was seen in Newark, N.J., where 75 disadvantaged youth have been accepted as apprentices within the painters' trade.

While overall results were mixed, the

NILE project clearly demonstrated that some minority group youth who would never have had an opportunity to qualify for apprenticeship in the skilled trades could complete programs of daytime OJT and nighttime classroom instruction and, based on this success, gain admittance to formal apprenticeship programs and union membership. The use of coupled OJT for union-sponsored preapprenticeship training already has been replicated in a number of cities and will soon be more widespread due to recent special efforts by the building trades to provide membership to minority group persons.

In 1964 the City of Detroit project experienced unusual success with a coupled OJT program for retail salespersons in cooperation with various large department stores. Trainees were provided with a minimum of 20 hours of OJT per week at retail stores, and with at least 10 hours of classroom instruction at the project site, encompassing both general sales information and techniques and job-related basic education. The project findings show that about 85 of the 101 trainees in the coupled OJT program completed training and obtained employment in retail sales. The classroom instruction phase of the training program proved to be quite critical in preparing trainees to meet standard hiring criteria (such as tests, literacy skills, etc.) for sales personnel of retail department stores.

In summary, E&D project experience with OJT for disadvantaged youth has demonstrated the need for reinforcement and enrichment services to supplement skill development activities through OJT. Coupling of classroom and jobsite training was found to be an effective approach in upgrading basic education and stimulating motivation for such knowledge. Finally, this training scheme, as compared to OJT or institutional training alone, appeared to be more successful as reflected in rates of completion of training and subsequent attainment of training-related employment.

New Careers Training

The extent to which E&D projects created new occupations by establishing nonprofessional staff positions, as well as the special training given by the projects to develop nonprofessional workers in new careers to assist the disadvantaged, is documented in the chapter on "Using the Nonprofessional" by Charles Grosser, Associate Professor of Social Work, Columbia University. Dr. Gordon's chapter also contains information on the use of nonprofessionals by E&D projects. Notable roles assumed by such workers were counseling, neighborhood work, leading work crews, and basic education instruction.

The earliest E&D projects quickly established that nonprofessionals, particularly those drawn from the same culture as the target population to be served, successfully could perform useful services in manpower development programs for disadvantaged youth. The initial major impact of this experience was the creation of Project CAUSE (Counselor-Advisor University Summer Education) in 1964, an effort to staff the new nationwide network of YOC's. More than 2,000 CAUSE trainees were provided with a short-term (10-week) specialized training program to prepare them for new careers employment as counselor aides. This action was taken to remedy the problem of the great shortage of fully trained professional counseling personnel needed to meet the responsibilities of the YOC's.

The next major impact made by E&D project experience in utilizing nonprofessionals to provide a variety of services to disadvantaged youth was reflected in the earliest activities under the EOA.

Community action agencies were staffed extensively with nonprofessionals, particularly the jobs of counselors and neighborhood workers. Programs such as VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) were designed on the basis of the nonprofessional concept. Support for such actions could be seen directly in E&D experiences at Action Housing, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa. where 50 neighborhood volunteers were willing to train as neighborhood workers and then work for a full year without pay to help fellow neighborhood people. Further support comes from the E&D project of the National Committee on Employment of Youth (NCEY), where unemployed adults with limited education were successfully trained and placed as aides of various types in youth serving agencies in New York City.

Finally, the most recent and most significant impact made by selected E&D activities is reflected in the New Careers training program legislated as an amendment to the EOA in 1966. The legislation, to a great degree, was modeled after the Howard University project in Washington, D.C. (jointly funded by the Department of Labor E&D program and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development).

The New Careers E&D project at Howard University was designed as an innovative work-training effort combining social rehabilitation and occupational change. This project presented a new approach for dealing with the employment needs of the disadvantaged population, and with the manpower problems of the human service agency. Recruited for the program were disadvantaged persons whose own background was shaped by social, cultural, and educational deprivation similar to that of the groups with whom they later worked.

The project was successful in (1) training 200 disadvantaged youth for entry-level nonprofessional jobs in human services (i.e., teacher aide, counselor aide and community mental health aide), (2) training 40 young adults as trainers and supervisors of the aide population, (3) developing human service jobs for nonprofessionals and effecting the placement of training project graduates in these jobs (i.e., aide jobs were created by city departments of welfare, public schools, community mental health centers, etc.), and (4) developing a training model (i.e., classroom instruction and on-the-job experience) which was effective in holding power and in providing marketable job skills. The project experience also showed that:

1. The creation of new entry jobs requires considerable lead or planning time before the inception of the training program.

2. The creation of viable new entry jobs requires the redefinition and reclassification of role content and function of existing personnel positions and endorsement and collaboration from appropriate professional bodies.

3. It is possible to effect lateral mobility from one field to another if new entry jobs are created in a variety of agencies in a community, and if generic core training in human service is provided to enable such movement.

4. The development of career ladders, or creation of opportunities for vertical mobility for nonprofessionals in new entry jobs, enabling them to move upward into roles of increasing responsibility, complexity, and salary level within an agency, can be achieved only with the existence of maximum training-educational opportunities within both the agency and the community.

IMPORTANT ISSUES

The prevocational and vocational training programs and approaches which have emerged from E&D activities can help resolve a number of issues concerning methods of transforming disadvantaged youth into productive workers. Among the issues are qualifications for instructors of training courses; methods of determining a youth's "readiness" for skill training; relative effectiveness of various types of training "intervention"; suitable occupations for skill training; needed ancillary services in vocational training programs; and mechanisms for insuring that knowledge on training the disadvantaged is utilized by the "regular" agencies responsible for such programs.

INSTRUCTOR QUALIFICATIONS

The primary qualification for teaching the disadvantaged is the ability to relate to the trainees. Ability is more a question of attitude and communication skills than teaching experience.

The traditional role of the teacher as an authority figure in the classroom is the antithesis of the role required for creating a climate of teacher-trainee trust or rapport in training programs for the disadvantaged. To be effective as an instructor, one must build a positive interpersonal relationship with the trainee in the role of counselor and friend.

Industrial foremen and skilled craftsmen used as vocational training instructors by the New York City YMCA and Crusade for Opportunity (CFO) were quite effective in understanding and relating to disadvantaged trainees. In Detroit licensed teachers with some nonteaching experience in industry were effective basic education instructors. Persons with knowledge of "work practice" and industrial experience in dealing with coworkers and subordinates are apparently better prepared to provide the disadvantaged with vocational training instruction than persons with knowledge of "teaching theory and curriculums" or experience in educating public school pupils.

While background experience is an important consideration, it is just as important to provide special training for instructional staff as a means of upgrading their qualifications. Such staff training is yet to be accomplished in any comprehensive fashion.

SKILL-TRAINING READINESS

The E&D projects have demonstrated clearly that youth who have prevocational skills have readiness for achieving success in skill training. They also have shown that the absence of highly precise and valid instruments for measuring readiness can be overcome through the use of special procedures to assess the trainee's abilities, habits, and attitudes.

The fundamental procedure in assessing a youth's readiness for skill training is to enroll him in a work-experience, basic education, and/or work-orientation program and require instructional, supervisory, and counseling staff to prepare periodic ratings on a wide variety of behavioral attributes (i.e., literacy skills, work attitudes and motivation, ability to take and follow instructions, physical appearance and dress).

Staff having a good understanding of their rating procedure and the requirements of available training programs can achieve much success in determining the youth's readiness for skill training. However, such a determination should be a group decision.

TRAINING INTERVENTION

Disadvantaged youth are oriented to the present and find it difficult to establish long-range goals. When questioned, applicants to E&D projects most often said they came to get (immediate) jobs. E&D experience shows that, when the trainee questions the relevance of the training program as a means of obtaining employment, it is highly probable that his motivation for and commitment to the program will decline, and he will drop out.

This E&D experience shows that disadvantaged youth usually perceive OJT as more desirable than classroom training. Apparently the will to learn to perform in a job can be generated by only a job itself. The foregoing circumstances tend to indicate that the strategy of employment first, training later (i.e., the JOBS Now approach) may be the soundest strategy for training intervention.

The hire first, training later approach formed the basic strategy of the New York City Board of Education project for school dropouts. Youth were quickly counseled and placed in minimum wage employment (often this process was completed within 24 hours of application to the project) and were encouraged to return in the evenings for special assistance to upgrade education and job skills. The project provided job placement assistance for higher level pay jobs as reward for night-time attendance. The experience of the project clearly showed that its training intervention strategy was attractive to, and effective for, disadvantaged youth. The appeal of the project further is evidenced by the fact that large numbers of youth who already had rejected the public school system were willing to seek out job-training assistance located in public school buildings—the setting of the project—and staffed by regular school personnel working after school hours.

The recently popular JOBS Now project (undertaken subsequent to the time period and projects covered by this paper) of the YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago is an outgrowth of the initial 3 years of experience by Chicago JOBS in working with unemployed youth. Specifically, it shows that many youth participated in multioccupational training for a period of 6 months to 1 year and appeared to adjust well to the comprehensive activities of JOBS. However, a great proportion of these youth seemed to "backslide" as soon as they reached the stage at which they were about to be thrust out into the working world. Thus, there was legitimate suspicion that the long course of skill training and job preparation had done little for the work motivation and self-confidence of these youth, and that some youth may have been manipulating the project. For this reason, late in 1966 the Chicago YMCA attempted a radical reversal of the JOBS procedure, one in which employment (after a brief orientation period) was the precondition for training, which is popularly known as JOBS Now.

Briefly stated, the JOBS Now efforts show that ". . . the job itself, in a setting of special support from the employer, is often the most effective tool for improving motivation and surfacing the abilities of many who had work experience or carry employment failure histories." However, some youth succeed and some fail in employment under the JOBS Now scheme, and it will take continued experimentation to identify effective training approaches and needed support services as well as particular types of youth who are likely to succeed under such programing.

SKILL-TRAINING OCCUPATIONS

In choosing occupations to train for under MDTA, judgments should not be made wholly on results of surveys to determine reasonable expectation of employment. Between the planning of a training program and the placement of its graduates, the local job market situation can shift rapidly. Also, it is clear that many disadvantaged youth reject menial type jobs and roles to which their elders have been relegated, even though such work may be available and lead to higher level jobs and wages.

The rapidly changing needs of the job market and lack of ability of disadvantaged youth to make realistic and suitable vocational choices because of their lack of work experience or exposure to a broad spectrum of careers are circumstances which support the establishment of open-ended MDTA training programs. These programs which have no fixed time to enter or complete training include prevocational preparation, provide multioccupational skill training, and attempt to impart "clusters" of job skills—abilities for a number of different jobs in an occupational family or broad field of work. In addition they are highly individualized and they develop each trainee to his maximum capacity.

While the Crusade for Opportunity skill center is an example of such programing, its implementation under conditions of the JOBS Now scheme may be the most desirable approach. Under this plan *employees* develop prevocational abilities and learn clusters of job skills in an industry-operated skill center. They produce limited amounts of marketable goods and services, and are ultimately placed in suitable specific jobs at a company plant. Such a skill center might be operated by a group of employers sharing costs and profits.

There is also a need for adaptive job behavior (i.e., work motivation, attitudes, and habits) and specific job skills to be conceptualized as a single entity (i.e., skills required for the job). Just as in the case for specific job skills, adaptive job behavior should be learned by the trainee through a systematized procedure of "doing." Job analysis information used to establish training curriculums should include an analysis of required job behavior for specific job tasks.

ANCILLARY SERVICES

The E&D experience clearly points to the need for comprehensive ancillary services (health care, transportation, counseling, basic education, residential facilities, etc.) for youth enrolled in skill-training programs as a means of insuring completion of and success in training. The paper by Dr. Jesse E. Gordon includes a comprehensive account of E&D experiences with various support services and provides specific recommendations for such programing in relation to skill training.

Dr. Gordon in chapter three, makes it clear that comprehensive ancillary services must be coordinated with skill-training efforts. However, such services can be provided most efficiently only when a single agency administers the total multiservice (including skill training) program. The distinction between administration and coordination is an important one. A central, controlling, independent administration must have final authority over total program services, while representatives of participating agencies coordinate services in the program. The central administration must have independent authority to plan, evaluate, and set program priorities in relation to the goals and problems of the program.

UTILIZATION OF E&D FINDINGS

A basic goal in conducting E&D manpower projects is to develop new knowledge and programs for use by regular manpower service agencies in meeting the special needs of disadvantaged populations. The outcomes of E&D projects have shaped the implementation of regular manpower programing for prison inmates, volunteers rejected for military service, basic education and new careers training, et al. However, various training approaches which have yielded successful outcomes after being explored through E&D efforts (e.g., programed instruction for basic education and job skills training, preapprenticeship training, work experience in rehabilitation of slum housing, work conditioning through sheltered workshop contracted work, etc.) are not yet reflected in the daily planning and operations of regular manpower development programs.

At the start of the program for E&D manpower projects in 1963, it was necessary to contract with private nonprofit community groups, universities, etc. as a means of getting regular manpower agencies to recognize the merits of new approaches for disadvantaged persons. The competitiveness created in 1963 to 1967 between E&D projects and regular agencies has served to motivate regular agencies to seek better programs and methods, and to be willing to make the institutional changes necessary in revising current programs, procedures, and priorities.

With this new attitude toward program innovation, regular manpower agencies should now be given expanded opportunities to serve as E&D contractors. The design and implementation of new "ways" by the potential users of such knowledge should facilitate more efficient utilization of E&D findings.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The E&D projects have shown that new ways to meet manpower development problems can be developed through the process of "learning by doing." Clearly, E&D efforts have contributed to the development and acceptance of the following manpower program practices:

1. Prevocational training as a precondition for effective skill training and employment.

2. Work crews and work stations in public agencies as mechanisms for orienting youth to work demands and behaviors required in work settings.

3. Development of new occupations—and training programs—for employment of disadvantaged workers as nonprofessionals in human service work.

4. Development of on-the-job training on a sizable scale through the use of private and civic organizations as administering agents.

5. Implementation of manpower development programing through a coordinated multioccupational and multiservice single-management framework.

6. Multioccupational training projects as a means of overcoming the inability to identify readily skill potentials or appropriate occupational objectives for disadvantaged persons.

7. Training programs to meet the special needs of prison inmates and those rejected for military service.

8. Fusion of curriculums for basic education and job skills institutional training, and coupling of basic education with on-the-job training.

9. Government-industry partnerships in "hire first, train later" manpower development efforts to provide disadvantaged persons with marketable job skills.

10. Use of industrial foremen and skilled craftsmen as instructors of institutional training programs.

11. Linking comprehensive supportive services programs (health care, transportation, counseling) with skill-training programs.

12. Participation of unions in planning and implementing training programs.

13. Creation of skill centers which disadvantaged persons identify as institutions of their own and which respond in a "person-oriented" way to the education-training needs and behavior styles of the disadvantaged.

The E&D projects have provided guidance for legislative action. Amendments to the MDTA, based on E&D experience, authorize:

1. *Physical examinations and minor medical treatment for trainees who cannot afford to obtain them on their own.* E&D projects demonstrated that such assistance could aid in reducing dropouts during training for reasons of health and enable trainees to pass company physical examination requirements after completion of training.

2. *Training in basic education, communications, and employment skills.* E&D projects demonstrated that training in work habits, behavior and attitudes, apart from occupational skills training, is often the necessary and effective key to developing employability.

3. *Training in correctional institutions to prepare prisoners for employment after release.* E&D projects demonstrated that providing incarcerated youth with vocational skills during their prison stay, increased their employability and decreased criminal behavior.

Various activities of E&D projects have demonstrated merit but have not yet received widespread recognition for use in regular manpower development programing, including the following:

1. Prevocational training for work adjustment skills (i.e., work-experience programs) through contracted production work for (a) urban redevelopment, (b) sheltered workshop activities, and (c) youth-operated enterprises.

2. Preapprenticeship training programs and Model Cities-type work through housing rehabilitation efforts for urban renewal which are contracted privately by nonprofit community groups.

3. Programed instruction for basic education and job skills training.

4. Use of work-sample methods (a) to obtain needed information (such as occupational interests and abilities) for efficient referral of applicants to specific training slots and job openings, and (b) for work-experience programing.

POLICY AND PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

1. A range of incentives should be available to industry for providing programs of "employment first, training later."

2. Vestibule-OJT programs should be established at employing firms. The vestibule phase should be exclusively a prevocational program with fully subsidized wages (such as NYC). This phase of the training program would precede the OJT phase for which employers would be reimbursed for training costs only.

3. Manpower training programs should be developed in combination with work-release programs of correctional institutions for inmates with short-term confinements.

4. Disadvantaged persons should be given manpower training within programs to rehabilitate residential, business, and public buildings

in ghetto areas and/or to establish new businesses there owned by residents of these areas. Such programing should achieve the combined goal of "human and urban renewal," and should bring together the resources of several Federal agencies (Labor, HEW, Commerce, Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Small Business Administration (SBA) Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), etc.) as envisioned under the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS).

5. Multioccupational manpower training programs should be established for extended periods (i.e., 3 to 5 years) to permit more efficient planning of training program facilities, methods, and goals, and to facilitate recruitment of instructors and other staff who are best suited to work in these programs.

6. Prevocational training programs should be implemented through commercial youth enterprises to perform contract work for community services (e.g., Supreme Services of Neighborhood House, Inc.). The self-help, self-pride aspects of such programs tend to stimulate trainee motivation to learn.

7. Priority should be given to the development of preapprenticeship programs under MDTA and programs to tutor youth for direct entry into apprenticeship programs.

8. Industry should be provided with incentives to operate manpower skill centers in programs of "hire first, train later." When ready for specific employment, the employee-trainee in the skill center could then be transferred to the employer's actual production facility.

9. Consideration should be given to the suggestion of some projects that the level of MDTA training allowances should not be the same for good and poor performance in training, and that a reasonable incentive system should be developed to encourage trainees to perform their best.

10. Consideration should be given to the proposal by some projects that the levels of MDTA allowances for youth in skill-training programs and NYC wages for youth in work-experience programs be realined so that these manpower programs are not perceived as being in competition with each other for trainees, and there is incentive for acquiring higher level job skills.

11. Efforts should be expanded for the development of programed instruction curriculums for basic education and job skills training; integrated basic education and job skills training curriculums; curriculums for training in a cluster of skills for a family of jobs.

12. E&D projects should be designed with controlled measurement to provide highly specific data on the effectiveness and relative value of alternative prevocational and vocational training methods and programs. Such formal experimentation-analysis should be used to determine which applicants are most suitable for which types or methods of training and which occupations are most appropriate for which applicant groups.

13. Experimentation should be undertaken to develop objective procedures for assessing the applicant's readiness for skill training and/or employment. Work samples and other nonpaper-and-pencil-test methodology should be given priority in such experimentation.

14. A successful E&D project should be replicated and evaluated in a multicity pilot program before it is determined that the manpower procedures or program demonstrated warrants nationwide operational implementation in regular manpower programs.

experimental and demonstration programs

job placement, creation, and development

Louis A. Ferman

breakthrough for disadvantaged youth

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JOB PLACEMENT, CREATION, AND DEVELOPMENT

This report reviews and assesses the impact of selected strategies in job placement, job creation, and job development in the experimental and demonstration (E&D) programs for disadvantaged youth organized under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA).

Job placement may be conceptualized as a process that encompasses many activities—both new and old—or it may be viewed as an almost passive process. Distinguished in this paper are four prototype situations of job placement, ranging from a passive to an active project stance.

Training activity but no placement services . . . In this situation, it is assumed that the trainee after training is competitive in the job market and meets the existing qualifications for jobs. Job placement is not viewed as a special problem since it is expected that the normal range of job opportunities and vacancies in the job market will be sufficient to deal with the problems of job finding. In these situations, the responsibility for job finding falls on the trainee himself or on a public or private employment agency to which he goes for help.

Any placement efforts were informal and depended on luck or the good will of interested parties. In two cases, a passive job placement orientation did bring results. In a project in a large midwestern city, the lack of a formal placement program did not seriously hamper the finding of jobs for disadvantaged trainees. The instructors of the courses acted informally to place trainee youth and were successful in 85 percent of the cases. In this project the instructors had extensive contacts in local industry—some were employed in local firms—and their referrals were respected. In the second project, in a New England city, local industry leaders were involved in the project from its inception; were active in monitoring the progress of the youth; and were active as a job finding resource for graduates. It was clear, however, that in both cases the project had succeeded in raising the skills of the trainees to a point where they were competitive in the local job market.

While the lack of an organized job placement effort may be mitigated by energetic informal efforts, there is considerable evidence that the failure to invest resources in a well-developed endeavor may undo many of the benefits derived from the training situation.

Among disadvantaged youth, turnover rates are high, partially reflecting the inadequacy of unorganized job placement efforts. The personnel director of a light manufacturing firm in a midwest city noted that 10 percent of the disadvantaged youth employed by the company quit after the first day of employment, an additional 15 percent left by the end of the first week, and fully 66 percent of those hired left at the end of the first month. A large heavy manufacturing company reported that 90 percent of all disadvantaged youth who had been employed left by the end of 3 months. Nathan Caplan in a study of 109 disadvantaged youth trainees in the Chicago Youth Development Project in 1964 reported that disadvantaged youth had minor difficulties in mastering seven phases of a training situation ranging from ego development and social skill development to skill training. However, the youth evidenced persistent failure in finding and holding jobs in the job market. They were either unwilling or unable to demonstrate the various skills learned in the training situation. These data strongly suggest that failure to develop at least a job placement program if not supporting services may offset any gain in acquired skills.

Training program with job placement assigned to outside agency . . . This situation was by far the most typical in the E&D projects. The trainee, after the training period, was assigned to the State Employment Service (ES) for job placement. In several instances when this referral was mechanical, the following problems were noted. First, such referrals generally came at the end of the training course; thus, there frequently was a delay in becoming employed since the job placement process required some time and the trainee was not aware of how long it would take. The trainee's craving for instant job success was frequently frustrated by such a process. Second, in many cases the data transferred about the trainee—his counseling and his course work were too inadequate to be the basis of satisfactory job placement. A frequent complaint of trainees was that the same information solicited at the job placement center already had been given in the training center. Third, in many cases there was no followup by training agency personnel of the trainee's placement, his adjustment on the job, or his need and/or desire for further training or counseling. The physical separation between training and placement site frequently meant a lack of followup and a sense of separation of the trainee from further agency resources. Finally, in a number of cases the youth were placed in a non-training-related job, simply because the placement agency had no knowledge of the trainee's job aspirations or the particular job that would utilize the trainee's new skills.

These observations suggest a number of practices that must be followed if the job placement activity is separated from the training site. Many of these practices were in evidence in E&D projects.

1. Bring the job placement agency personnel into the training situation early and conduct placement activities concurrently. Many of the personality and aptitude tests can be completed early in the training course, and it is often possible to conclude the job diagnosis and finding process before the end of the course. *If possible, the job should be waiting for the trainee by course completion and every effort should be made to minimize the time gap between course completion and job entry.* Community Progress Inc. (CPI), New Haven, Conn.; JOBS Now, Chicago; Mayor's Youth Employment Project (MYEP), Detroit.

2. The job placement agency personnel should not only be brought in early but some attempt should be made to involve them in the training and counseling activities of the project. This is frequently accomplished by bringing in an agency representative as a resident in the project, involving him in staff seminars, and giving him full access to records (CPI, JOBS Now, MYEP). It is also helpful to develop a summary card on each trainee as a joint effort between placement agency and project to insure the transmission of pertinent data and to eliminate needless duplication in soliciting the same data from the client (MYEP).

3. There should be periodic meetings and reciprocal visits of personnel involving representatives of both groups (CPI, MYEP, JOBS Now). A familiarity with employer needs as communicated by placement agency personnel and a reciprocal familiarity with the training and training-related counseling were indicated as high priority items in situations where training and placement sites are physically separated. Another solution to this problem was evident in the Youth Opportunities Board (YOB) in Los Angeles where the job placement agency had opened a branch office at the same location as the training site to facilitate contact with project personnel and to reduce lag time between completion of training and placement.

4. Job placement should not end with entrance to the job, but should include a followup procedure that includes an assessment of job adjustment (satisfaction, wages, training opportunities) and some feedback of difficulties in bridging the gap between training and placement. It was clear from a number of projects that job placement statistics were the only data available and followup information was scanty and nonmeaningful. Even in cases where followup data were available, there was no mechanism to communicate these data back into the project to revise curriculums and training methods. There were some notable exceptions to this finding—Mobilization for Youth (MFY), New York City, and MYEP—where an attempt had been made to convene job placement agency personnel with project counselors, administrators, and trainers to integrate followup information back into the project.

Training program with job placement unit inside the project . . . A number of the E&D projects had seen fit to develop their own job placement units. There were several reasons for this. First, job placement was viewed in many cases as being an integral part of the job-training and counseling complex. There was a desire to integrate this activity into a total service delivery package. A second reason was the prevalent feeling that the job placement of disadvantaged youth required special measures and practices that were not available in the resource repertoire of traditional job placement agencies in the community. *Job placement was viewed by these people as more than finding a job, and they recognized job preparation as an integral part of the process.* The common view was that jobs were easy to locate but more difficult was the preparation of the youth for work discipline and the holding of the job. Third, these project directors felt that the job placement of these disadvantaged youth required a special "selling" job to employers and this could be handled best by agency personnel who knew the trainee personally, both in training and counseling situations. Finally, the impression was widespread that an integral part of job placement was the provision of supportive services during the placement process and in the job period itself. Thus, in East Los Angeles job placement involved both finding a job and referring the client to medical, legal, social and counseling services as the need arose. There was considerable pessimism as to the extent that this conception of job placement existed in the traditional placement agencies.

Some observations about agency practices in this situation are:

1. None of the projects with job placement units completely avoided the use of the facilities of the State Employment Services. In most cases, the State ES acted as a vocational testing agency and only in a few cases did the project attempt to develop a vocational testing program. In many instances, the ES was consulted about registered job vacancies and frequently youth trainees who met the prescribed qualifications were sent to the Employment Service for job placement. An operating principle, in evidence in MYEP in Detroit, was to carefully assess the skills and employment potential of the youth and to refer those who required no supportive services for job placement through the State ES. The hard-to-place were serviced by the project job placement unit.

2. Frequently, a serious drawback to job placement through the ES was the existence of legal norms and administrative directives that prevented agency personnel from initiating employer revisions in job orders. These were regarded as fixed reference points for placement and emphasis was on finding the man to fit the job rather than the job to fit the man. The placement unit in the project was not subject to these restrictions and could engage in job placements that were client- rather than employer-oriented. In one documented case, a project job placement unit was able to find jobs for 50 hard-to-place youth who had been classified as unreferrable by the State Employment Service. The project personnel had greater flexibility in seeking and soliciting employers and in using persuasive means to lower job requirements. This same project unit was able to persuade a large manufacturer to reduce the requirements in a job order for typists from 65 to 50 words per minute when a guarantee was forthcoming for supportive counseling services and training for the applicants while on the job. *It seems clear that the job placement process for disadvantaged youth must frequently combine a package of services to be offered both to the employer and to the youth.* Job placement, in this sense, may involve as much work with the employer as with the trainee.

No training program but a job placement unit within the project . . . It has become a common observation that disadvantaged youth crave "instant job success" and that job placement is seriously impaired if: It is a lengthy process; it is preceded by lengthy counseling and training programs; it does not introduce the trainee into a situation where adequate compensation and job opportunities are available. These considerations make a strong case for moving the individual to a job situation—or on job training—as soon as possible. The advantages of reducing the time element in job placement are best illustrated by two New York City projects—PAL-Joey and the New York City Board of Education. The first project sponsored by the Police Athletic League (PAL) and Job Opportunities and Employment for Youth (Joey) developed an intensive job counseling-job placement process combined with on-the-job training (OJT) support grants. Youth who were referred by agencies, solicited directly, or walked in off the street were given instant and continuous service beginning with an intake interview, followed by job counseling, and finally an interview with job placement personnel. The latter has an available list of job openings and may match the client to a job order on the spot. *The client is made to feel that something is happening.* If a job is not available, he is recalled for another job placement interview on the following day. The emphasis is on time compression between entry to the project site and entry to a job. The Board of Education employed similar practices and was decentralized into four substations at night to increase the access of the youth to the job placement process and resources.

It can be seen from these prototype situations that the meaning as well as the practices of job placement varied considerably among projects. To draw up a catalog of activities in job placement would require a report in itself. Indeed, as we will see, some of these activities spill over into job development, which will be discussed later. Six activities would seem to be basic to the job placement process.

1. *Exploring traditional avenues of job referrals (the State Employment Service) as well as developing new pipelines to jobs . . .* Job finding is only one part of the job placement process but it is an important part. There was widespread agreement that traditional avenues of placement offered few opportunities for jobs to most disadvantaged youth, although some of the less disadvantaged can be placed in this way. In its initial period of operation, the PAL-Joey project sought to obtain job leads for disadvantaged boys through the use of classified ads for jobs in newspapers. The advertiser was contacted and a personal visit was made to those who expressed an interest. The strategy was to place some of the youth directly into jobs and to "sell" others through OJT contracts. Only about one-half of the advertisers were interested, but only about 5 percent of the contacts resulted in placements. The lack of employer interest was apparently a result of the unavailability of trained personnel, bad previous experiences with the employment of disadvantaged youth, and a reluctance to employ youth with criminal records. The experience of the PAL-Joey project was typical of many others. "Cold canvass" efforts through the telephone or personal visits also yielded few positive results.

Nontraditional methods of job finding had more of a payoff. Following the job leads supplied by previously placed disadvantaged youth produced a considerable number of successful job leads. Encouraging friendly employers to solicit among employer friends was also frequently successful. In some instances, the use of spot announcements on radio and television produced some results. The systematic canvassing of a single industry, after intensive studies of its manpower needs and consultations with personnel directors, was reported to produce a considerable number of successful job leads.

2. *Matching the individual and the job . . .* Although the primary assessment of the client's skills and emotional posture was made by the training instructor and the job counselor, respectively, the final decision to place an individual in a specific job was made by the job placement staff member. To perform this task, two sets of data were routed to him: Skill and personality data from teachers and counselors; a listing of available job openings solicited by field workers or job developers. It was expected that the job placement staff member would be sufficiently well acquainted with the demands of the work situation to make a sophisticated judgment as to whether the youth could adjust to a job in a particular company. Two basic principles were indicated. *The mechanics of matching youth to jobs should begin far in advance of the completion of the training period and should involve consultation with the trainees, the teachers, the counselors, and the field personnel who solicit jobs.* In two E&D projects the matching process was not begun until completion of the course and several of the other projects waited until late in the training period to do this. The consequence was that a moderately high number of trainees apparently be-

came discouraged and did not avail themselves of the placement office resources.

3. *Providing prevocational services . . .* The placement process is a failure if it does not seek to solve job-related problems that prevent the youth from taking employment. These services may include remedial medical treatment, legal and family counseling, access to adequate transportation to work, and providing financial assistance for the purchase of tools or work-related equipment. This was one of the areas in which considerable innovation was apparent in the E&D projects. MYEP, drawing on lessons learned in earlier training programs, provided a complete physical examination for their clients. The initial practice had been refer the diagnosis and course of treatment to the client and make him responsible for remedial action. This was changed, however, and the job placement unit was charged with the responsibility of obtaining remedial services. This was done largely on a person by person basis, using cooperating private physicians and public health facilities. The principle was firmly established in this program as in a number of others (JOBS Now, CPI) that medical diagnosis and rehabilitation should start at entry into the project and end before placement on the job. In Detroit and Chicago, continuing medical service was made available even after entry to the job.

In New York City, job placement included counseling services. It was a standard practice to arrange bonding in cases where employment was dependent upon it and to advise clients how to fill out troublesome items on employment forms. In the PAL-Joey and MFY projects, the job placement unit arranged in some instances to accompany the youth to the company office to help him fill out the employment forms. In Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles there were largely ad hoc programs to arrange car pools to work and in some cases the project personnel persuaded local financial institutions to provide back-up loans for cars. In MYEP in Detroit, informal agreements were negotiated with retail stores by the job placement staff to provide work-related tools on credit. In three of the E&D projects mention was made of arrangements made by the job placement staff to provide more suitable housing nearer to work to facilitate employment. The PAL-Joey project held orientation sessions on the use of subway transportation to teach some of the youth how to travel to work. In the Chicago Job Opportunities Through Better Skills (JOBS) project II, the placement staff arranged with a local jeweler to supply watches to the youth at a reduced price to help them in punctuality and time budgeting.[1]

4. *Preparing the client for testing and interview procedures by the company . . .* It was a common experience in the project that many graduate trainees who had successfully completed training requirements were not hired when referred to an employer. Four reasons were cited frequently to explain failures in job interviews or employment tests. First, the tests were not geared to a measurement of the trainee's knowledge or competence for the job. In some cases, the trainee found it difficult to relate his learning to the questions in the test. In one instance, the training had been on new equipment while the tests, somewhat dated, contained questions that demanded a knowledge of older equipment. In one performance test, trainees were asked for general knowledge on automobile repair while the training had emphasized a narrow specialty, ignition repair. Many of the tests required verbal facility for answers, while the trainee possessed a practical knowledge of the job but could not conceptualize it. Second, many of the job candidates had not had any experience with job interviewing or testing; therefore these situations were bound to be anxiety-producing for them. Third, the only models for these experiences were negative (interviews with social workers or school tests). Finally, many of the trainees—particularly minority group members—viewed interviewing and tests as discriminatory mechanisms to deny them jobs; consequently, tests and interviews were regarded with suspicion and hostility.

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[1] JOBS, one of the pioneer Chicago E&D projects, is not to be confused with the national JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector) Program started in 1968.

Agency personnel adopted a number of strategies to deal with these problems. Placement activities included preparation for the interview, as well as support and followup services for the youth's formal application for a job. In preparing the youth for the job application procedure, counselors will often give the youth some practice in filling out similar application forms. The YOB project in Los Angeles had actual job application forms for many of the companies in the area and a counselor aided the youth to fill out the form in the training center. The youth is not required to undergo an arduous process at the company; a process that may lead to discouragement. Besides instructions in filling out the forms, youth were instructed as to the type of documents that were required at the employer interview (birth record and social security number).

Another approach was to give intensive instruction in special knowledge requested on the examination. The MYEP project in Detroit gave intensive courses in arithmetic to improve scores on employer tests. Placement personnel at a number of projects maintained files on old employer tests, analyzed them for the types of knowledge requested and tutored youth in these areas. MYEP in Detroit reported that test performance increased with practice on tests. The personnel in this project reported that some youth gained more confidence in test taking by actually applying for a number of jobs and taking the tests. The danger inherent in this situation is that repeated failure may lead to discouragement in applying for a job. The more successful method reported was to have the youth take practice tests, analyze the mistakes, and discuss the errors and remedial action with the clients. The JOBS Now project in Chicago and the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS) in St. Louis reported that an important dimension of job-readiness was ability and confidence to take tests.

Preparation for the job interview has taken several forms. A number of projects favored role-playing the job interview with the counselor and client changing employer-applicant roles. Another form was to persuade the employers to conduct the interview in the training center where the youth would be more at ease. A strategy used to good effect in Chicago was to permit an applicant to participate in group interviews where three or four applicants were interviewed simultaneously. It is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of these measures since there was no attempt to conduct a controlled experiment; applying the method to one group and denying it to another. MYEP and JOBS Now personnel felt that these methods were efficacious but varied from youth to youth.

In several programs, staff members have accompanied youth to apply for jobs (YOB in Los Angeles, JEVS in St. Louis, and Goodwill Industries, Washington, D.C.). In other programs this was done only if it was the youth's first job or if he was particularly frightened or uneasy (CPI in New Haven and MFY in New York City). These methods were regarded highly in these projects and apparently helped the youth to obtain jobs. These procedures give the staff members a chance to encourage the youth before the interview and, if he does not get the job, to analyze for him the reasons and encourage him to try again. Since many of the trainee graduates failed to keep appointments for job interviews, MYEP personnel in Detroit felt that these methods insured that the youth would get to the work site and get there on time. CPI personnel felt that: The danger of these methods was the possible development of overdependence in some youth and these practices should not be applied indiscriminately to all youth since some youth resent the strategy, preferring to gain confidence on their own.

Most youth employment projects follow the practice of sending out only one applicant for each job order. In JOBS Now in Chicago, all eligible youth were sent out for each job. The assumption was that the youth gained considerable experience in job hunting from this practice and that this experience resulted in greater confidence to seek jobs. No assessment was made as to whether cumulative experience of this kind improves the art of job application. It does seem possible, however, that repeated refusals may result in a deterioration of ego strength, thus impairing his ability to seek jobs. Apparently, individual personality differences would be a factor here.

5. *Providing on-the-job supportive services* . . . It has become widely recognized that placement activities not only involve preparation for job entry but also provision for services that may extend well into the job period. Counseling, job training and mediation of employer-worker problems are the three major categories of supportive services. As a general rule, counseling was available at the training centers and graduates were encouraged to seek advice on personal problems, budgeting finances, and employer-worker tensions. In the New York City Board of Education project, two factors were reported to be favorable to luring graduates back for counseling—having four decentralized centers close to the residences of the youth and keeping the centers open at night to provide opportunities for after-work counseling. Only 5 percent of the graduates in YOB in Los Angeles returned for counseling while 85 percent of the trainees in MFY in New York City returned at least once. These differentials may possibly be explained by the greater spatial spread of Los Angeles with consequent transportation problems while by contrast the compactness of New York City makes a relatively efficient subway system possible.

The PAL-Joey project reported that post-training counseling was difficult to promote since graduates did not like to tie up their evenings and did so only when serious problems occurred on the job. Although the desirability of on-site counseling was mentioned frequently in reports, there were relatively few instances of it. Such counseling did occur in the JOBS Now project through a system of "coaches." By agreement with the employer, the coach could visit the client on the job site, consult with his supervisor, and arbitrate grievances at the scene of action. The coach also had access to high level officials in the department. Frequently, the coach made visits to the client's home, saw members of his family, and thus had a good grasp of his situation and problems. The obvious advantage to this system is the willingness of the coach to seek out the client and assess his progress. The greatest barrier to on-site counseling is employer reluctance to excuse his worker from a productive role to participate in counseling.

Supportive services in the form of further training were offered by a number of projects. Participation apparently varied from project to project. A strong factor in this participation was the extent to which arrangements could be made with the employer to recognize and reward this training through upgrading (PAL-Joey). Knowledge of the exact nature of the reward by the youth was thought to be highly important. Few youth were apparently willing to invest time in after-work training and such participation was apparently more related to dissatisfaction with current employment and willingness for a job change than to a desire to progress on the current job. Vestibule training and linked OJT-institutional training were apparently more favorable situations for providing further training to the disadvantaged youth and participation was greater when training and job experience were both at the work site and closely related to each other (MYEP, PAL-Joey).

Finally, supportive services also involved the mediation of management-worker tensions. Not all such efforts were as direct or as favorably conceived as the "coach system" described above. Far more common, was the intervention of the counselor by making special arrangements to see the worker and his supervisor. A common strategy was to inquire about the progress of old graduates when discussing possibilities for new placements with the employer. In this way, employers frequently communicated problems with the clients and agency-client-employer contact was arranged. These mediation efforts frequently posed a danger. Since employer contacts were usually with a job developer and client contacts were with a counselor, there was always the possibility that agency personnel would be opposed to each other in assessing the situation and develop antithetical identifications in trying to resolve the problem. In such cases, four-party mediation efforts were usually arranged.

6. *Followup procedures* . . . Activities that follow the trainee into the community and

the job site involve keeping in touch both with the youth and his employer. In most programs, it was the person who was closest to the youth during his training who contacted him once he had left the project. This was usually the counselor but could be a neighborhood worker as in CPI or a "coach" as in JOBS Now. On the other hand, the employer was usually contacted by the job developer (the person who solicited the job initially). Such situations frequently resulted in antagonisms between counselor and job developer because of competing allegiances.

Few of the projects had formalized followup procedures and most of the emphasis was on informal contacts between the agency and ex-clients or employers. A large project on the east coast had the following procedure. A staff member was delegated to telephone employers periodically after a placement had been made. If the employer reported any problem, the counselor was notified and he called the youth. This system had three obvious faults: Only complaints by employers initiated action for contact; only "failure" or "problem" cases were contacted and nothing was learned about successes; and it was questionable whether a telephone call could probe deeply into the complaint or its causes. In general, followup activities were predicated on an indirect feedback of information by the employer to the job solicitor, although the CPI project in New Haven successfully utilized subprofessionals to contact each client directly.

The followup contacts vary greatly among the projects. In a majority of cases, employers were resistant to frequent followup contacts. It was the general opinion that employers were interested in obtaining a good worker and were not overly concerned with the psychological changes and adjustments that he was making. The common thesis was that followup contacts should revolve more around the client than the employer.

Where the approach was tried, certain difficulties were to be noted. First, the business community and professionals in general operate under a certain logic of efficiency that tends to sustain the status quo job structure. There is a built-in resistance to segmentalization of jobs, since it is assumed that coordination costs (supervision) must increase. Among professionals, there was a tendency to defend repetitive and subprofessional elements of the professional role because it "had always been that way." In the professional group, there was resistance both to redefinitions of professional mandate coming from outside the profession and the making of subprofessional jobs more than dead-end jobs. In every project where some subprofessional jobs had been developed, there had not been any clear mobility pattern built into the job and the activity, although complementary to professional tasks, clearly had little career potential to it.

JOB CREATION

In the context of E&D projects, job creation refers either to job redesign (the segmentalization of a job to provide a number of opportunities for new work) or career development for the poor (establishing new subprofessional jobs that are supplementary and complementary to professional roles but do not require extensive educational preparation). With a few exceptions, job creation programs were largely absent or primitive in structure. The essential ingredient in job creation is to persuade the employment gatekeeper, be he the manager of a plant or the chief functionary in a bureaucracy, that job redesign or career development for the poor makes sense in terms of his logic of operations and provides an efficient solution to his manpower problems. *The strategy in job creation is to sell the employer a logic of operation rather than the services of a particular client.* The assumption is that the disadvantaged youth will find it possible to fill these new jobs. The strategy is highly innovative in that it attempts to adjust the work system to the skills of the individual rather than changing the individual to fit the system.

A second outstanding difficulty was in the development of career, subprofessional jobs for the poor within the context of civil service regulations. All projects in subprofessional development met this problem of fitting in subprofessional jobs into a system that had no legal definition for such work, no clear job description, and no wage scale to compensate such activity. A particularly recurrent problem was the unwillingness or inability of civil service administrators to compromise with service qualifications (age, criminal record, educational preparation). In a large eastern city, the city civil service refused to establish a new job classification, recreation aide, to provide jobs after the coursework was complete. The existing job classification, recreation leader, required a high school diploma, and few graduates met this qualification. A common consequence was the employment of subprofessional workers on an hourly rate in a convenient job classification that existed or to employ the subprofessional in a work program with his services assigned to the bureaucracy. The failure to create a definite job status of subprofessional workers coupled with low wages and the lack of potential mobility in the job undoubtedly resulted in a personal crisis of work identity for many subprofessional workers. This was evidenced by the high turnover rates in subprofessional jobs that were apparent in several projects. Little empirical evidence is available to tell us about the jobs that these people move into after leaving subprofessional work, but a number of calculated guesses suggested that these workers entered work unrelated to their subprofessional experience.

Finally, an outstanding difficulty in all projects where attempts had been made to develop subprofessional employment in municipal and private agencies was that work reality infrequently corresponded to the subprofessional work values taught in the course. Wages in the health services and community agencies were frequently less than welfare payments and were particularly depressed when compared to industrial jobs. The direct service responsibility, independence, and subprofessional self-determination which were emphasized in coursework were not utilized in the actual work situation and there apparently was little that the project personnel could do to remedy these conditions because they were considered employer prerogatives. The latter was also an effective bar to job enlargement—making the job situation more interesting and meaningful for the job holder—since in these agencies work relations and conditions were rigidly controlled by written rules and regulations. Thus, the difficulty of career development for the poor stems in part from: The values of operational efficiency that permeate business and public employment; defensive reactions of professionals who view subprofessionalism as a threat to their prerogatives; and the rigidity of the civil service that fails to provide a distinct job status for subprofessional work.

The obstacles appear to be quite formidable in creating subprofessional jobs, but the following rules, gleaned from E&D project experience would appear to have some merit.

1. Nearly all of the projects utilized subprofessional, semiprofessional, and aide workers. Any approach to public and private agencies should present them with a review of project experience with this type of employment. An example in Washington, D.C., is Action for Youth (WAY).

2. The negotiation for subprofessional employment should begin before the onset of the training project in order that training can be tailored to the job. There should be reasonable prospects for jobs before the training has proceeded too far.

3. The initial negotiations should be for lower level aide positions where professional resistance is least. A promising way into institutions is to develop field placements for aides in that institution. New services are created which may create a demand for their own expansion, such as in WAY.

4. There should be a thorough study of the employment structure and regulations in the institution before a program is begun. Targets should be avoided that require lengthy review procedures for approval of new jobs, radical additions of supervisory personnel, or new in-

service training programs for the insertion of the new jobs (JEVS, St. Louis).

5. Before beginning the training project, every attempt should be made to involve professionals as planners, trainers, and evaluators of the program. *Successful job creation projects were those that had gained professional involvement at every step of the program.*

6. Based on experiences in Washington and St. Louis, successful job creation requires that subprofessional tasks must be clearly specified and adequate supervision provided. Few of the subprofessionals were comfortable enough in the institutional situation to ask questions and seek directions about the job. They apparently did not expect sympathetic understanding and did not communicate their needs.

Subprofessional development is a long and arduous task. Dramatic breakthroughs are few and gains, when measured against effort, are bound to be small. The most marked successes in these subprofessional ventures involved cases where: The subprofessional fulfilled the task of "bridging" between a neighborhood group and the agency; the subprofessional was engaged in tasks that were not easily or willingly performed by professionals (field followup of agency clients); and the subprofessionals were engaged in tasks that did not involve direct service responsibility or independent action. Least resistance was encountered in developing low-level clerical-typist jobs where the status was low and strongly marginal to any professional activity.

JOB DEVELOPMENT

As a set of operating practices, job development overlaps with the practices discussed under job creation and job placement. Job development is a process and an evolutionary one from job placement and job creation. As George Bennett has noted:[2]

> In the early stages, job development may well take the form of locating job openings and then finding youth and adults to fill the openings. Neighborhood workers move out into the neighborhoods to find individuals for the openings and the manpower staff looks over participants in ongoing manpower and skill center programs to see who is ready to move into jobs. At some point, job developers reverse the process and work initially with the candidates who are ready for employment and then move out to employers to tailor jobs for the candidates. When that becomes an ongoing part of the process, a sophisticated and complete job development mechanism has become operational.

Three other criteria should also be included in an ideal definition of job development. First and foremost, job development postulates the opportunity to induce employers to reappraise and in many instances to modify job entry requirements. This may be done in a variety of ways, but the essential ingredient is the availability of back-up services by the agency (training, counseling, literacy training) to make the job candidate more competitive in the work situation. Second, job development includes concerted efforts to gain agreement from the employer to consider the job candidate only on his ability to do the job and not on extraneous criteria (race, social background). Finally, job development includes followup services to the job candidate once he is placed to insure mobility and potential development on the job. The service to the client does not end with entry into the job but ideally there is ongoing work to further his manpower development consistent with his job aspirations.

The role of the job developer may involve any one or all of the following tasks:

1. Finding jobs through regular or new channels or providing opportunities to find jobs through arrangement of job fairs or contact interview situations.

2. Coordination and management of pri-

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[2] George Bennett, *Job Development for Youth* (New York: Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth, February 1966), Training Series, pp. 7-8.

vate and community resources to increase employability of clients (the arrangement of ongoing medical diagnosis and services to make the client employable).

3. Providing communication and linkage between the agency, training center, employer, work supervisor, and worker.

4. Salesmanship and negotiation with employers to secure jobs for his clients, by modifying entrance standards or by restructuring jobs.

5. Followup services to develop job mobility potential for his clients.

6. Changing the attitude and role of the employer by involving and identifying him with the project.

7. Creating new jobs by negotiation with public or private agency officials.

Although there may be different emphases on one or more of these tasks and the division of labor may differ from situation to situation, these are the essential reference points for job development work. The line between pure job placement activities and job development is hard to draw. The job placement process was concerned with the assessment of the client, helping him to overcome any deficiencies for entry to work and matching him with an available job opening. Job development involved work primarily with employers and was oriented toward creating job conditions in which disadvantaged youth could work and develop. In many cases both jobs were filled by a single individual who regarded these activities as a single process. In the discussion that follows, the emphasis will be on both processes, but it should be recognized that not all projects developed this emphasis equally.

PLACEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT UNIT

Job placement and job development work required organization and this varied considerably. In this section we will consider some dimensions of this organization. What were the characteristics of the staff (background, previous experience, education, number)? Where was the location of job placement and job development activity and how were these activities linked to community agencies and other units of the project (counseling)? What were some of the strengths and weaknesses of the systems used? These are important questions and we turn to them now.

The Structure of the Staff . . . The background, training and experience of personnel employed as job developers varied widely. *Job developers apparently do not come from a common background and certainly do not have a common heritage of training or experience.* Successful job developers have come from sales jobs, management administrative positions, social service employment, teaching, and counseling. Training requirements for job developers appear to be secondary to certain personal qualities that project personnel feel are desirable. Sales ability is regarded as important, since the principal image of the developer is one of a salesman whose job is to sell the program and the individual applicant to the employer. While there is no formal training recommended for a job developer, project directors and personnel gave a strong emphasis to personal characteristics that characterize good job developers. The job developer:

1. Should possess sales ability and enjoy selling.

2. Should have an understanding and appreciation of management values and organization.

3. Should have the ability to communicate with management.

4. Should possess an art of diplomacy and compromise, since a job developer is a bargainer-arbitrator between client and employer.

5. Should know the community well and have entry into a wide range of companies.

6. Should have a firm belief in the ability

of disadvantaged youth to become valuable employees.

The number of job developers in an E&D project varies with the condition and size of the job market, reliance on other agency services, the structure of the program, the amount of time spent in finding jobs, and the age of the program. In a tight job market, fewer job developers are needed to locate the necessary number of jobs. Programs, such as CPI in New Haven, where employers had helped to organize the courses and were involved as job-finding resources, had fewer job developers than programs that had little management involement. The projects that had been recently initiated invested more time in job finding and job development than older programs. New programs need to spend considerable time and effort to introduce the program to the business community and to make employer contacts. *As the youth employment program gets established and develops a good reputation with employers, repeat orders and a multiplier effect account for an increased percentage of job or*[illegible] Depending on the emphasis given to job [illegible]ing, the job development staff might range from one to ten persons.

A number of the job development units utilized older indigenous workers in subprofessional jobs to follow up job placements (CPI in New Haven, JOBS Now in Chicago, MFY in New York, and MYEP in Detroit). These workers were uniformly regarded as an asset in job development work, since they knew the neighborhoods and work values of resident youth and expressed a strong interest in the problems of clients. *The followup data on clients were more complete and reliable when collected by indigenous workers than by professional staff members.* This was particularly true in cases of locating a client who had left a job without notice. In two projects, indigenous workers were given direct service responsibility for contact with clients in postplacement followups. Project administrators felt that this had contributed to a high job retention rate among the youth.

Location of the Job Placement Unit in the Project . . . Many of the projects began by relying almost exclusively on the State Employment Service for the placement of the youth. In general, the project staff devoted themselves to and concentrated on counseling, basic education, and training. When a youth was considered "job ready," he was referred to the State Employment Service for placement. This procedure proved to be largely unsuccessful. The majority of disadvantaged youth sent to the State Employment Service, regardless of interest or training, were not placed. The Goodwill Industries project of Washington, D.C., suggests that failure was due primarily to poor communication between the project and the State Employment Service. In this project, youth were trained in one occupational specialty only to discover that another MDTA training program had just flooded the market in this same specialty. Consequently, almost no jobs were available. The project, based with the National Committee on Children and Youth (NCCY) in New York City, reported that the State Employment Service had insufficient staff to provide the services that disadvantaged youth require in placement. A common observation was that the State Employment Service was employer-oriented in filling jobs and did not have any flexibility to bargain with employers on job orders. Thus, disadvantaged youth referrals had to have the qualifications for the job or were not considered.

One explanation of the difficulties between project and State Employment Service in job placement is that each tended to operate under a different mandate. The Employment Service tried to find the best candidate for each job order while the youth employment projects were attempting to find the best job for each youth. The Employment Service was also involved with a broad segment of the labor force and was not a specialized agency to handle either the disadvantaged or youth. Consequently, "mass" methods of testing and competitive job seeking were used, and it was exactly these methods that had resulted in previous failures to obtain jobs. Following referral to the State Employment Service, these youth are tested and either assigned to a job waiting list or sent out on numerous job referrals with other applicants. Few efforts are made to individualize the client and remedy his own peculiar job seeking problems. Both the JOBS Now project in Chicago and the North Carolina Drop-out Program reported that counselees expressed reluctance to use the State employment offices because they represented an integral part of earlier negative employment experiences.

The more recent experience in the projects was to make provision for some job placement and job development work within the staff structure of the project. These efforts are usually organized as a job development unit which seeks jobs specifically for project trainees either individually or en masse. The existence of a job development unit does not mean that the services of the State Employment Service are ignored. *The consensus among project personnel was that the facilities of the State Employment Service have much to offer the youth employment projects and that the activities of the latter organization should be complementary rather than displacing.* The State Employment Service has a store of valuable experience with the job market and can offer information on area entry level requirements, job vacancies in industries, and contact referrals to major employers. The nature of the relationship between the job development unit and the State Employment Service varied from project to project, but most maintained a "working relationship" which generally translated into some referrals or calls about job openings and employer information and a friendly interchange of aid-as-needed.

A much closer relationship was practiced in the projects in Chicago and New Haven. In both cases, staff members of the State Employment Service were sent to the youth employment projects to work as job developers. They became a part of the youth employment project staff, working side by side and performing the same duties as other youth employment project staff members. This system is advantageous to both agencies. The youth employment project obtains experienced staff members with important contacts. It can also make use of the job orders which come routinely into the State Employment Service. The State Employment Service also benefits. It shares the credit with the youth employment project for placements, eliminating the sense of competition which otherwise might prevail. In addition, some of its staff members are exposed to new and innovative methods of job development and placement. Frequently, this experience enabled the State Employment Service to improve its own methods of operation.

The Structure and Linkage of the Job Placement and Job Development Unit to Other E&D Project Activities . . . Since the job developers act as a link between the youth employment project and the outside community, there is a certain amount of conflict built into the job developer role. On the one hand, the job developer deals with the potential employer, discovering his needs and sympathizing with his problems. The employer is generally seeking an individual who will meet his standards, work hard, be reliable, be trouble-free, and be motivated for advancement. On the other hand, the administrative, training, and counselor staff of the E&D project focuses on the problems of disadvantaged youth who frequently give the appearance of not meeting these criteria. The disadvantaged youth may not want to conform to the employer's image of a "model employee." Insofar as the perspectives of employer and youth differ, the job developer frequently finds himself in a conflict situation. He can resolve this conflict by identifying with the perspective either of the employer or the youth; or by working out some kind of compromise.

The structure of the E&D project frequently influences this identification. If the job developers are separated from the rest of the project staff (trainers and counselors) and have little contact with individual youth, there is a real danger that the job developers may take on many of the management perspectives and attitudes. Projects that committed large blocks of time to job developer contacts with employers to the exclusion of contact with other project staff or individual youth frequently experienced this problem. The result was that job developers identified with high management standards for employment and were reluctant to modify these standards. Inevitably, this introduced a measure of conflict between job developers and other project staff members who were more youth oriented. The Youth Opportunities Board in Los Angeles reported that the "conservative" approach to jobs for disadvantaged youth by job developers caused strained relations and conflict between job counselors and the job development unit. The JOBS Now project in Chicago also found that their "employment developers" lost touch with other staff and components of the project. As a result of this loss of contact, employment developers became more concerned with placement than with training and counseling and more oriented toward numbers than toward people. *Effective job development requires that job developers interact on a continuous and regular basis with other staff and components of the project and that some contact wtih individual youth be made available to them.* The possibility of becoming overspecialized and impersonal is a real danger if some steps are not taken to check these tendencies.

Another aspect of the problem bears on the effectiveness of the job development unit. In a number of cases, the job development unit was largely an autonomous unit. Jobs were located or developed independently of contact with other staff members or the youth being trained. The result, typified by the Los Angeles experience, was that many jobs were found but few youth were job-ready to fill them. Considerable pressure was generated to place youth, regardless of where they were in the training cycle or the services needed to make them job-ready. Consequently, youth were frequently placed in jobs not related to their training, interests, talents, or temperament.

These remarks clearly indicate the need to fully integrate job development work with other components of the project. The PAL-Joey project in New York and the YOB project in Los Angeles had an almost ideal cycling of project activities that minimized many of the job development problems discussed above. These projects tried to link the job development unit to other staff with a "placement counselor." This person was involved both in job placement and counseling activities. He discussed with youth their job preferences and the available jobs discovered by the job developers. He could call on the job developer for more information in response to youth's questions, thus opening some indirect communication between job developer and youth. This system apparently eases some tensions for youth and gives them a more consistent picture of the job openings. It is not ideal, however, since the job developer has no personal acquaintance with his clients and can give the employer only general information about prospective employees. It is also deficient in that the placement counselor has only second-hand information about the jobs—information that may be more ideal than factual. Frequently, the youth finds himself in the position of moving from a highly supportive and sympathetic environment—the project center—to the realities and responsibilities of a job for which he has been ill-prepared informationally.

The problem of providing the youth with a realistic information field for his job placement has been approached in several different ways. The New York Board of Education Project combined job placement and job development activities in one role. Thus, the person who was charged with placing the youth had also found the job and was best informed about it. In Detroit, the MYEP project made it mandatory that the job developer meet and assess the client for the job. In a more general sense, OJT placements with continuing supportive services provide the best opportunity to interpret the job through ongoing counseling. The job holder has a continuing source of interpretation as new questions arise.

More satisfactory than a placement counselor is a structure in which the staff is able to face and work out conflicts while the youth is active in the project. The CPI of New Haven is an excellent example of a highly cooperative and well-integrated staff arrangement. Short staff meetings are held daily in each of four neighborhood centers in which the day's anticipated cases are reviewed. The job developers from all of the centers also meet daily to exchange information on jobs and those youth not yet placed. While the job developers from each center are responsible for finding jobs for the youth in their center, certain division of responsibility has been established to keep employers from being bothered with calls from different job developers from CPI. In addition, a weekly "disposition conference" is held in each center to deal with non-routine cases. This involves a lengthy discussion of any difficult cases which have come up during the week. This conference is attended by all staff members including neighborhood workers, a psychological consultant, and any other relevant person in the community who has had contact with the case being discussed (teacher, social worker, or probation officer).

Undoubtedly this system ties up a great deal of staff time in meetings. However, the advantages are clear. In discussing problems and arriving at a course of action, staff members must pursue a process of give and take. Staff judgments develop consistency and give a more unified picture to the trainees. Job developers gain insight into the "human" factors that affect the case, and other staff become familiar with the realities of the job market. In the neighborhood employment centers, the job developers meet with youth who are ready for placement. Very frequently, a close relationship develops between the job developer and client, giving the job developer a personal knowledge of the individual being placed.

Summary of Job Development Systems . . . As we have indicated, the job development unit is an important part of the project organization. Job developers do not come from a common heritage of training, but sales ability and a dedication to helping disadvantaged youth seem indispensable personal elements. Effective job development work utilizes the resources and talents of a wide variety of community organizations—business and civic—and are perceived as complementary rather than a displacement of State Employment Services. A vital function of the job developer is that of communication link between the employer and potential youth employees. This function is made more difficult by differences in perception of work and its meaning by client and potential employer. In the last analysis, the job developer shares the responsibility with the other staff members for resolving the differences in perception sufficiently to permit the youth to work productively in the employment setting, and to gain client acceptance on the part of the employer.

PLACEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

Work with disadvantaged youth in the E&D projects implicitly revolved around two concepts—competitive mobility and sponsored mobility. In the first case, the project accepted the stated job qualifications of the employer and operated under the assumption that the principal task was to develop the skills of the youth to qualify them for the jobs. The goal was to increase the competitive position of these youth. In sponsored mobility, the project staff operated to modify or eliminate requirements for the job that would discriminate against disadvantaged youth. In this case, the goal was to adjust the job to the applicant while in competitive mobility the applicant is changed to fit the job. To some extent, most E&D projects accepted both orientations although the more innovative job development work was in projects where the major orientation was sponsored mobility. In most projects there was a progression from traditional placement techniques (filling job orders or placing job seekers in industries where a skill survey had indicated manpower shortages) to active attempts to work with employers to modify the work situation. There were five principal methods used to obtain jobs for disadvantaged youth.

Traditional Placement Techniques . . . The problems of disadvantaged youth have been widely defined as a lack of technical skills, inadequate social skills, and exclusion from traditional channels of job information. Many of the project directors had concluded that jobs did exist but that disadvantaged youth did not have the skills for these jobs or simply did not know how to find them. Thus, an initial focus of the projects was to structure training programs based on the results of area skill surveys and to increase the flow of job information to these youth. Youth were routinely referred to the State Employment Service for placement, and newspaper want ads were regarded as a major source of job information. It was soon obvious that many of these traditional placement practices were deficient when applied to disadvantaged youth. *Learning new skills and new knowledge about job openings did not guarantee job placement; in many cases this learning could not be translated into performance.*

A number of particular problems deserve mention. Job orders from employers were vague, giving few of the finer details of the job. Post-training applicants were frequently in the position of expecting a job with career possibilities and finding that the job was low paying, "dead end," and unskilled. Training personnel in the project "idealized" the future job in the absence of any actual acquaintance with the job or company. Nor did training in an area guarantee a job. Youth were frequently placed in jobs that were unrelated to their training. A frequent criticism made by employer and trainee alike was that course content had little application to actual job demands. The National Committee on the Employment of Youth in New York City suggested that the skill survey, as currently conceived, was too limited to plan training content and placement. Ideally, the skill survey should focus on future rather than current skill needs and shortages. The latter tend to be filled rapidly and can create surpluses, frustrating the newly trained job applicant.

The MYEP project in Detroit made detailed studies of job orders, including visits to the employer, to determine the range of skills needed for the job, its mobility potential, and interpersonal work factors. This information was made available to counselors, placement officers, and job developers to give the youth as accurate a picture as possible of the job. The JOBS Now project in Chicago found that few trainees acted on job leads and supplemented this information process by arranging interviews and following up both on successful and unsuccessful job seeking efforts. Another technique widely acclaimed was to bring the employer into the training session to answer specific questions about the job.

On-the-job training efforts (OJT) have eliminated many of these problems. Under this arrangement, an employer trains youth while they work in jobs that he needs filled. The trainee receives some formal instruction but his skills are primarily learned on the job in the actual work situation. During the training period, the employer is reimbursed for his training costs and the trainee receives regular wages. When training is completed, the employer hires the youth that he has trained on his machines and using his techniques, providing that he is reasonably satisfied with their work.

The OJT placement has several advantages over the more traditional system for formal training followed by placement. First, the youth are placed on jobs quickly and have some measure of "instant success." Second, their learning is closely related to the job duties and they obtain a realistic picture of the job (mobility potential, working conditions). When training is complete the youth is already a valuable employee. He has a decided advantage as a candidate for the job over somebody just off the street. If the arrangement is not satisfactory, the youth leaves the OJT placement with some actual work experience in addition to his training.

From the viewpoint of job developers, OJT placements are more difficult than are direct placements. The CPI project in New Haven found that large firms are not interested in OJT placements. These companies have training programs of their own and frequently shun the paper work that is involved in such placements. The CPI job developers believed that OJT placements were easier to promote in small firms and that there were advantages to OJT placements with small companies. The trainee obtains more personalized attention and requirements for work are more flexible and easily changed. Small companies are also more pressed in manpower shortages and can easily be persuaded to participate in OJT programs. Effective OJT programs require that the job developer assure himself that the youth are in a training situation and that there is a good probability of the trainee being hired for a permanent position.

Although OJT placements offer distinct advantages, there are some problems to be noted. In the National Institute of Labor Education (NILE) Training for Apprenticeship Program (cosponsored by management and labor unions) numerous difficulties were encountered in working with unions, particularly those with their own apprenticeship program. Another difficulty is that the employer is often ill-staffed to provide adequate training and supervision for trainees. The PAL-Joey project in New York recommends that immediate supervisors receive special training in working with disadvantaged youth. This course of action was also followed both in Chicago and Detroit. Finally, OJT placements may develop interagency hostility and competition in "bidding" and soliciting jobs from employers. This was in evidence in a large eastern city where there was active bidding in subsidies for OJT placements among employers. There was widespread agreement that the size of the subsidy was less of an issue with large employers and more important to marginal, small firms. There is a danger that the job developer may be "buying jobs" by reimbursement subsidies to employers; thus, every effort should be made to view the placement as a training-work experience rather than merely a job.

The importance of management and civic involvement in youth programs . . . There was a growing realization among project personnel that putting youth in touch with employers was not enough to guarantee their employment or job retention. The opportunities for the job placement of disadvantaged youth depended on the manpower needs of the local employers, and the knowledge that the employer had of the youth project goals, strategy, and services. The latter was deemed to be extremely important by project directors. The majority of the projects included public relations activities such as newspaper stories, advertisements, and talks to community groups to develop a climate of acceptance for disadvantaged youth. Telephone calls and personal visits were also used extensively to develop project-business relationships. In Chicago, the YMCA JOBS Now project contacted YMCA members who were employers in the community and urged them to sponsor trial groups of disadvantaged youth. These business people also acted as salesmen to other business leaders. *A more effective strategy in job placement than contacts with individual companies is to work through industry or business associations to promote the employment of disadvantaged youth.* The Chamber of Commerce in Chicago became an important force in job placement when it publicly encouraged its members to hire JOBS Now trainees.

Support of the youth projects by important public figures is helpful. In New Haven and Detroit, the mayors were actively associated with the CPI and MYEP projects. Undoubtedly, this had some influence on employer willingness to cooperate with the projects. The project personnel in Detroit felt that employer involvement and interest in the project increased noticeably when the mayor directed the city department heads to cooperate with the project and provide employment opportunities for project graduates. The department heads were also directed to incorporate a program of job development in personnel operations. The project personnel felt that this civic leadership influenced many business leaders.

The approach to employers varied widely and there are few guidelines that cover all situations. Three points are worth noting. First, the more successful approaches emphasized services to the employer rather than humanitarian motives. Employers do not generally see themselves as part of a rehabilitation process nor as a social agency. The employment of disadvantaged youth must be presented within the cost calculus of organization of the company. Second, the agency should commit itself to followup and supportive services for youth if needed in the employment situation. Employers need the security of knowing that help is available if problems arise. There must be some assurance that agency responsibility does not end when the youth is placed. Finally, it should be recognized that in any community there are key companies or industries and that success with these units will open most business doors. The more sophisticated job placement efforts sought to identify these "pacemakers" and use them as basic reference points. Almost all projects reported a multiplier effect after a trainee had been successfully placed in a company. After positive experiences, an employer is more favorable to additional placements without a hard sell and in some cases may initiate requests for additional trainees.

DEVELOPING NEW JOBS

A persistent problem of job developers has been to find a job which will allow the youth to actualize his potential and experience job mobility. As mentioned earlier, the jobs for which disadvantaged youth qualify are frequently unskilled, low-paid, and dead-end jobs. Understandably job retention rates and job satisfaction are low. A report from the PAL-Joey project in New York City laments that "an overwhelming majority of our youth seemed suited primarily for simple, unskilled work that involves little responsibility or hope for advancement."

Job redesign—breaking the job into a series of simple unskilled tasks—may make it possible for the youth to qualify for a job but it does little to give him a job with mobility opportunities. To a youth the significance of holding a job may be less than the mobility pathways that the job opens. *The development of new jobs for disadvantaged youth must involve career development rather than merely job placement.*

Two projects attempted to develop programs on subprofessional employment and were partially successful. The National Committee on the Employment of Youth of New York City trained 60 indigenous adults as subprofessional workers in youth employment agencies. Intensive canvassing of youth-oriented agencies by both staff and trainees resulted in 43 placements and 11 school returnees out of 59 graduates. The average salary was slightly under $5,000 per year. A second project, the Community Action Program (CAP) of Washington, D.C., trained 10 youth in recreation, child care, and social research. The youth were selected for the training from high, medium, and low risk groups, categories determined by school, police, and employment records. Significantly, there was no difference in performance in training or on jobs among the three risk categories. The trainees were interested, understanding and sensitive to the problems of the agency clients. Although the number trained was too small to draw generalized conclusions, the data are interesting. The general drawback is that these jobs had a fixed position in the agencies, and although wage mobility was possible, there was no apparent mobility in responsibility.

Other projects made use of subprofessional workers. The CPI project of New Haven and the JOBS Now project have reported satisfaction in using neighborhood people on their staffs. CPI used indigenous workers for recruitment and followup activities. Work crew foremen were also subprofessionals. The JOBS Now project in Chicago used neighborhood workers in followup work. But even in these cases, the jobs had no mobility built into them and the area of responsibility was limited.

Job development for subprofessional jobs is a long and arduous process. The CAP project negotiated with administrators of public and private agencies to develop "aide" positions. Major staff and budgetary reorganization was required. In government agencies, new job descriptions had to be written and approved by the U.S. Civil Service Commission (CSC). Working these positions into the budget often meant a 2-year delay.

The new and undefined nature of the jobs also created difficulties. Employers were frequently unsure of what subprofessionals could and could not do. Drawing the line between professional and subprofessional work requires experience and considerable analysis of job operations. Consequently job duties were vague and limits of responsibility unclear. Subprofessionals also had difficulties working in an unstructured atmosphere. The role of supervisor was frequently equated with that of foreman. The result was that subprofessionals expected orders rather than a reciprocal interchange of information on a problem.

Another problem area resulted from the

reluctance of professionals to accept subprofessionals in the organization. Professionals were particularly jealous of the relationships established between client and subprofessional, aided by the common language, culture, and educational level. Professionals frequently felt that indigenous workers might be more successful with clients and resented the challenge posed by these new workers.

The development of subprofessional jobs undoubtedly poses many problems. Job development workers reported that a considerable expenditure of time was required for a low yield. In a tight job market, the preference was to fill existing, vacant jobs. It may very well be that this strategy will assume a major importance in an economy where large numbers of jobs are eliminated and new jobs must be created.

MODIFYING JOB REQUIREMENTS

Ironically, several projects reported that as soon as the projects opened their doors they were flooded with many more job orders than could be handled. It was soon discovered, however, that the project trainees were ineligible for all but a few of these jobs. Even after skill training, this discrimination against disadvantaged youth persisted. Frequently, employers required applicants to have a high school diploma, achieve a certain score on an employment test, have no police record, and be at least 18 years of age. These requirements automatically excluded large numbers of disadvantaged youth. Added to this criteria exclusion is the fact that many employers hire applicants for career mobility rather than for a job. The disadvantaged youth might fit the needs of the job but not be perceived as an individual who could "move" in the company and thus would not be hired.

Many of these requirements and assumptions are the product of company traditions and are not necessarily valid as predictors of job performance. Many candidates who are potentially good workers are screened out. It becomes the task of the job developer to encourage the employer to adopt more realistic qualifications. *The employer must develop a mental set where he can see the growth potential of the candidate rather than be solely concerned with negative assumptions about his job worth or predicting his success or failure.*

The job developer's decision to suggest more flexible entry requirements depends on a number of factors: The nature of the work to be done, the employer's orientation toward the project, and the relationship between job developer and employer. The employer is concerned that the quality of his operation not be compromised and that costs not rise. He must be convinced that his present entry requirements are not the best way of judging what a worker will do on the job. Three points are worth noting. A heavily unionized company and a company with an extensive division of labor offered more resistance to modifying entry requirements than other companies. Requirements that are codified in a union contract are particularly hard to change. Second, few job developers tried to or expected to change requirements in early contacts with the company. Initially, there was an attempt to fill job orders as the employer formulated them. At a later period some effort was made to modify requirements by presenting a few candidates who were marginal to the stated requirements. Successes with these cases frequently permitted entry to larger numbers of youth and a greater movement away from the earlier stated requirements. *Persuading employers to modify job entry requirements is predicated on gradual shifts over time rather than on a single dramatic move.*

The MYEP in Detroit has done some interesting work along these lines. It was noticed that female trainees in typing classes became overly nervous and did poorly when speed and accuracy tests were administered. Comparisons were made between scores obtained on these speed and accuracy tests vis a vis performance in a series of informal test exercises. Typing speed and accuracy were higher on informal exercises than in formal tests. This information was illustrated graphically, printed, and utilized when discussing the use of test scores with employers. A number of employers were willing to hire applicants using the informal exercise data as the basis of job performance. Of the 50 girls placed through this technique, all were retained on the job for a significant period of time and improved their performance.

One of the few systematic and scientific studies of the relationship of entry requirements and test scores was conducted jointly by MYEP and the Federal Department Stores in Detroit in 1964. A related study was conducted by Federal in its Cleveland stores in 1965. In September of 1964, 16 youth from culturally and economically deprived areas of the city of Detroit were accepted for retraining in the Detroit stores. They were given a battery of standard personnel tests and a self-check item to identify personal problems as viewed by the youth. Following 4 weeks of training, which included medical care, personal hygiene, and counseling, as well as sales training, they were admitted to a 10-week on-the-job training program. Their progress was reviewed by a management team. At the end of 10 weeks, the 10-week sales average of the group exceeded the minimum sales level for the department and three individual employees exceeded the minimum by an appreciable amount. All but two produced significantly higher sales than their test prediction ratios indicated could be expected. One year later, 10 trainees were still with the company and four others were doing well in other jobs. More significantly, a comparison of the problems identified in 1964 by trainees with problems identified in the followup study in 1965 reveals a 39 percent reduction in problems. There was also a significant shift in problem concerns from "needing a job" to "wanting to improve myself culturally." Both of these studies present dramatic evidence that entry requirements may not be a good indicator of performance on the job.

MEETING EMPLOYER STANDARDS

When changing or modifying of entry requirements is difficult to achieve, attempts have been made to bring the youth up to the standards set by the company. While it is not possible to grant high school diplomas or erase arrest records, test performance can be improved. The MYEP in Detroit has found that with practice and encouragement, youth can improve their test scores. The CPI of New Haven has found that disadvantaged youth tend to give up easily on tests, but that if they are helped to solve the problems, one by one, they soon master the techniques of employer tests (completing a number series). The argument was advanced by many project directors that youth will face tests at a number of points in their career; thus, it makes sense to instruct them in the art of "test-taking." Such knowledge, they argue, provides confidence in their ability to do well on a task and should be made part of basic education courses.

Detroit's MYEP project has developed another method of bringing youth potential up to the standards set by management. The job developers have been successful in convincing employers to hire "unqualified youth" on a conditional basis. The youth must concurrently attend and master a course specified by the employer. The employer may designate instruction designed to improve his performance on company employment tests or to develop positive attitudes of employee responsibility and company loyalty. After the youth are accepted for employment, someone from the MYEP staff comes to the company regularly to administer the course.

The range of services needed to bring the trainee up to employer standards varied from project to project and may be extensive. These ranged from medical treatment, subsidies for tool purchases, and legal services to psychological counseling and courses in grooming. Some of the most basic work was in grooming and in some projects extensive blocks of time were devoted to this activity. Counselors in CPI frequently advised youth on how to dress for a job interview and in one case money was given to a boy to purchase a white shirt and tie for a job interview.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

Throughout this discourse we have made reference to a number of problems that impose barriers to the employment of disadvantaged youth. The truly innovative aspects of these projects developed as attempts to deal with some of these barriers. We will consider a number of these problem areas and briefly describe the solutions that were introduced.

Travel

According to staff members, the majority of disadvantaged youth wanted jobs that were close to their neighborhoods or within easy commuting distance. In Chicago, a relocation study developed as part of the JOBS Now project indicated that disadvantaged youth were willing to relocate to other cities but their choices were determined by the presence of friends or relatives in the area. While the problem of travel to work is minimized by good public transportation, the work trip has presented job developers with difficulties in some communities.

In Los Angeles, inadequate transportation proved a major problem. Few jobs were found that were close to the project. Most youth, particularly females, would not consider moving and many parents were adamant on this point. Job opportunities were located at some distance from the ghetto residences of the disadvantaged youth and public transportation was poor. In cases where youth had cars, they tended to be old and subject to frequent breakdown, causing absences and tardiness. Other youth bought cars on credit only to suffer badly in making payments. Still others did not know how to drive.

Most solutions to travel problems were of a "crash" and temporary nature. In the YOB project in Los Angeles, loan funds were established to buy cars and car pools were organized. Considerable instruction was given in how to minimize travel time in getting to work. The MYEP and JOBS Now projects intervened with loan institutions to secure loans for cars at reasonable time payments. More notable than what was tried were the possible solutions that were not tried. There was no encouragement for youth to relocate as a group; the emphasis was strongly individualistic. For example, several youth with jobs in the same city might share an apartment near work. Programs that aim to educate a youth on budgeting assumed his continued residence in his family household. No alternative budgeting arrangements were discussed to provide for living away from home.

Attempts to reroute the mass transit to provide better travel arrangements to work for disadvantaged youth were rarely successful.

Orientation for Work

Choice of a vocation is a common problem of adolescents but it is intensified for disadvantaged youth. Very often, his aspirations are either too low or too high. He rarely has a clear understanding of the educational requirements for specific jobs and he is likely to think in terms of a job rather than a career.

The YOB of Los Angeles and the MYEP of Detroit have developed special projects that aim at broadening the horizons of the disadvantaged youth and introducing them to the realities of employment. In Los Angeles, job preparation and cultural enrichment programs were initiated. The preparation involved a series of tours to various industries and fields of employment, employer forums, and exhibits depicting various industries. Most of the trainees were Negro and emphasis was on Negro businessmen and "success stories." A personal and cultural enrichment program involving Negro history, art, drama, an effective "student" organization, and classes in grooming were given to improve their self-image and ethnic pride.

Detroit's operation SCOPE sent in-school teenagers from the inner-city schools to a college campus for 2 weeks in the summer. They were exposed to information on various careers as well as to art, music, and creative writing. This exposure apparently resulted in a significant rise in career aspirations, particularly toward teaching.

Undoubtedly, it is impossible to find "the perfect job" for a youth who has no clear pattern of job aspiration. While these programs offer new alternatives and stimulate long-range planning, they can rarely be expected to leave him with a definite career decision. Time and experience may be needed before direction is found. Thus, it may be wise for the job developer to seek jobs that will provide good experience and can be used as background for a variety of jobs rather than positions that offer high wages or have high mobility within a narrow job network.

Managers' Attitudes

Job development activities are not limited to salesmanship on disadvantaged youth. The MFY project in New York City reported that the president of a company might become enthusiastic about hiring MFY enrollees but his attitudes may not filter down to the personnel manager or supervisor. Various efforts have been made to involve all levels of the management hierarchy in a number of youth employment projects. The main objective is to communicate some responsibility for the youth who is hired and to develop a sympathetic work environment. In the Lane County, Oreg., project employers were brought into lecture and small group discussion sessions to discuss employer expectations and to give advice on specific job questions. CPI had the most extensive program of employer involvement, using employers in planning and monitoring the program. One of the most impressive efforts has been in JOBS Now. A "high support" project has been initiated for OJT trainees with a high degree of employer involvement. The key features are:

1. Employers agree to waive traditional requirements (high school education).
2. Employers waive employment tests and interview procedures.
3. Business-agency personnel cooperate in a 2-week orientation program for disadvantaged youth.
4. Employers and agency personnel are involved in evaluation of programs and job holders.
5. Project staff and company personnel cooperate in supportive services and followup of clients.
6. On-site instruction and counseling are permitted.
7. Frequent consultations are held between management and agency personnel.
8. A "buddy system" is developed (an experienced worker takes responsibility for each youth).

The JOBS Now project represents an ideal of high management involvement at all levels of the companies concerned. At this date, the impact of what is believed to be a highly favorable setting for client job prospects and retention has not been evaluated. The significant element about this involvement is that it is not symbolic but structural; that is, it has resulted in a significant altering of the work situation for disadvantaged youth.

PLACEMENT OF DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

We have already discussed the fact that the placement of disadvantaged youth involves more than finding a job. The disadvantaged youth presents an image to the employer of liabilities rather than assets. We will briefly consider some of the problems that must be solved if any progress is to be made toward employment. Five problems consistently imposed barriers.

Physical Problems . . . Posture, poor grooming, and poor health account for many nonplacements. In their analysis of Negro and Puerto Rican placement records, the PAL-Joey project considered grooming to be an important factor. The Negro boy tends to wear "sharp" (expensive, bright-colored) clothes to an interview rather than a conservative suit. The Negro girl is likely to appear in ultra-high fashionable wear (party clothes and extravagant hair-do) or to appear slovenly. These grooming styles clash sharply with the middle-class values of the interviewer and frequently bring rejection.

A surprising number of disadvantaged youth have medical problems that have been unattended. These often hinder placement since the better companies have rigid health standards. The JEVS project in Kansas City found that 12 out of 55 trainees needed the services of medical, psychiatric, and social work agencies. About 15 percent of the National Committee for Children and Youth (NCCY), Washington, D.C., graduates utilized health resources. The Vocational Advisory Service (VAS) project in New York City found that 30 of its 46 trainees had medical problems. MYEP of Dertroit reported that 84.6 percent of all its trainees needed medical help. In almost all reports, about half of these medical problems could be traced to an inadequate diet. Dental problems seem to be the most frequent single problem.

As a result of these findings, various program changes were made. Youth were given advice about grooming by counselors, and in some places (JOBS Now, YOB) classes in grooming and posture were included in the curriculums. MYEP began classes in proper diet that were especially adapted to the eating habits and budgets of the disadvantaged youth. Medical and dental services were usually arranged with clinics or hospitals in the locality. MYEP suggests that a thorough physical exam is necessary for all trainees to determine medical needs. In Los Angeles the YOB provided free optometrical service, tattoo removal, and plastic surgery services that were donated by community groups and individuals. Unfortunately all of these medical services are temporary, available while a trainee is participating in the project, or only shortly thereafter. It would seem to be important that youth employment projects make the medical community aware of the extent of service needed by the disadvantaged youth.

Emotional Problems . . . These account for many placement failures. The JOBS Now of Chicago report discussed the insecurity and lack of self-confidence of the disadvantaged youth. Extreme shyness might appear to be stupidity, lack of ability, and lack of interest. This may frequently result in an inability to "sell" themselves at an interview. The North Carolina School Dropout project reported that when going to apply for jobs, some youth became frightened by strange areas of the city and returned home rather than face the fear of being lost. A study conducted by the staff of PAL-Joey indicated that the Negro male's manner is apt to offend prospective employers. His lack of confidence may manifest itself as either an aggressive, dominating attitude, or an extremely lethargic one. The VAS project of New York City found that 37 of its 46 trainees had serious emotional problems.

The evidence of these emotional problems should remind us that the problem of many disadvantaged youth is not a simple, unidimensional one to be solved quickly. Many factors have been influencing the youth for years, and one short training program or even a job is not likely to erase their effects. Intensive therapy services may be necessary for the more serious cases rather than the supportive therapy systems that characterized the counseling in most projects.

Resource Problems . . . Certain jobs require the acquisition of materials or supplies before the disadvantaged youth can be employed. For example, a nurse is expected to buy her uniform and a mechanic is expected to have his own set of tools. In many cases, the disadvantaged youth cannot afford these items. A number of project loan funds were established that permitted a youth to purchase necessary resources and to pay the loan fund back gradually out of his pay check. Loan funds were also useful in cases where the youth had to pay living and transportation expenses before his first pay check. In almost all cases, the loan funds were established ad hoc and were designed to cover emergency cases rather than all trainees. In Detroit, the project staff had established a file card system of informal contacts with private agencies and individuals who could offer resource aid to the trainees. In no case, however, was this procedure formalized. Resource needs may vary, and it is necessary to assess the job not only in terms of technical skills but also the needed resource aids. For example, many processing jobs in the Chicago area assumed the use of a wrist watch which many youth did not have.

Educational Deficiencies . . . In spite of the fact that most disadvantaged youth reach the high school level in formal schooling, large numbers of them cannot read and write. In one project, the job developer estimated that 50 percent of the "job-ready" trainees could not read or write, in spite of the fact that remedial education had been part of the program. The CPI of New Haven also reported that literacy is needed for every job, no matter how low the skill level. Even the most unskilled worker has to be able to read and understand basic rules, instructions, and safety regulations.

Language has been a serious problem in New York City's Mobilization for Youth, where approximately 70 percent of the trainees are of Puerto Rican origin. Language classes are available but the adjustment that must be made by a Puerto Rican youth in an American work situation is extensive. At present, job developers are seeking contacts with Spanish-speaking employers in order to arrange more satisfactory placements.

Several guidelines about literacy training and job placement should be noted.

1. The literacy training should be closely related to the demands of the job, avoiding content areas that have no immediate relevance to the job situations.

2. The literacy training should be started or completed before job placement begins. The most recommended sequence was to conduct skill and literacy training concurrently. In one project, the director attributed the high dropout rate in a course to the fact that the literacy training was an "added" content area after skill training was completed. He felt that the trainees had resented the added requirements because they interfered with placement.

3. Considerable success has been reported in persuading employers to enlarge their training structures to provide work-related literacy training. The staff at PAL-Joey felt that the employer is best able to judge what literacy components are most necessary for employment in his company. In CPI in New Haven, the literacy course was designed with employer participation to insure that relevant literacy components would be added. This strategy would seem to have considerable merit.

Criminal Offense Record . . . One of the most significant barriers to the employment of the disadvantaged youth has been a past record of contact with court authorities. Even the employer who is willing to make allowances for education and skill experience is frequently adamant on this point. One of the difficulties is that most employers take an absolutistic view of court records, making no allowance for first offense, the kind of offense, and mitigating circumstances. The Draper Correctional Center, Elmore, Ala., project staff reported that considerable contact could be made with employers if they accept the distinction between a court contact and a court conviction and the case for employment is made by a competent professional rather than the applicant himself.

In almost all of the projects, the criminal offense record was viewed as a problem of considerable magnitude. In several cities served by the project, civil service regulations prohibited youth with criminal records from being considered as applicants for public employment. A restaurant association that had sponsored a cooks-, bakers-, and waiters-training program balked at hiring two youth who had had court contact as sex offenders, although neither was convicted. The same association also balked at the employment of females with court records of prostitution. The most effective strategy in dealing with such cases is: To provide the youth with training in an area in which skills are in short supply; to guarantee continued agency contact with employer and client; and to provide supportive services that the employer feels are necessary.

One problem that is a correlate of court arrest records is the bonding issue. Frequently, the employer wanted to hire a youth, but the youth could not be certified by the bonding company. The YOB project in Los Angeles solicited participation from a number of community agencies to establish a bonding fund and this was successful in a number of cases. The Draper project staff report that many employers can use leverage with their bonding companies if they are convinced that the youth are good work prospects.

Many disadvantaged youth have a court record by circumstances beyond their control. A gang fight in a ghetto area frequently means the arrest of innocent bystanders in the neighborhood, and this brands the individual with an arrest record. The central problem is to promote some employer perspective on the problem. A number of projects reported that after one or two successful initial placements, the employer loses much of his reticence.

Problems of Job Retention . . . The placement of a disadvantaged youth in a job cannot be regarded as a "success" for the project unless the youth keeps the job for a reasonable period of time. Unfortunately, many of the projects did not institute procedures to study the job-holding patterns of disadvantaged youth. Even where such observations were made, the data were less than adequate. Some projects conducted a 3-month checkup of job retention, while others covered a 6-month period. None of the projects studied job retention patterns for 1 year or more.

For the reasons cited above, it is difficult to isolate any trends in job retention. The CPI project in New Haven reported that 86 percent of its 1,666 graduates were employed 3 months after training but this could include employment at second or third jobs. A project in a large eastern city reported that "50 percent of the trainees were employed at a followup." But we are not presented with the base for this percentage nor the length of time between training and the interview. It seems clear, however, that questions of method aside, the job retention rates for many trainees were low. A possible factor that might account for this is the quality of the job placements of the youth. Let us briefly examine this explanation.

Quality of Jobs and Retention . . . Although there were variations in patterns, a considerable number of youth appear to be placed in low-paying, "dead-end" jobs. While there are many youth who can adjust to this kind of work, there are others who have the potential to do more creative work but do not have the necessary requirements for such a job. These youth undoubtedly get bored and restless on an unskilled job and it is likely that this is reflected in low retention rates for high IQ youth.

Certain jobs, such as sales and store clerking, require only part-time personnel. The latter are on a "look and see" basis and, if considered qualified may be promoted to a full-time status with job security. Many of the disadvantaged youth cannot afford this immediate investment in part-time work, no matter what the long run prospects are. Similarly, sales jobs where workers are paid on a commission basis are unattractive to disadvantaged youth. These jobs have a low base salary and the youth cannot afford to wait until he develops a clientele and some seniority to give him a base for commissions. The wage mobility pattern in many unprotected shops is to begin with a low wage pattern but offer good opportunities [illegible] advancement in the long run. Frequently, these youth become impatient on such jobs and leave.

The MFY project in New York reported that clerical jobs had the highest retention rates while construction jobs had the lowest. One explanation for this differential is that the best educated workers, mostly females, are in the former jobs. Thus, the high retention rates may be explained by the stability and maturity of the girls rather than the characteristics of the jobs themselves. The PAL-Joey project, New York City, found that failure rates among Negro males were disproportionately large in service jobs, a trend that was attributed to a distaste of serving others. Retention rates among females in this project were also low, particularly in nurse aide positions where pay was low.

FOLLOWUP OF PLACEMENTS

Evaluation of the project is the major purpose of followup activities. In order to measure the impact of the youth employment project, it is necessary to know what happens to project "graduates." Information on job retention, wages, job satisfaction, and employer satisfaction are as important as the fact that a placement was made.

A review of the projects indicates that the followup activities of youth employment projects have been inadequate. Undoubtedly, there is considerable informal contact between agency staff and client or employer after a placement has been made but information has not usually been tabulated, if it has been ever recorded. One reason for this inadequacy is that there is no fixed structure within which followup activities can occur. There is apparently no definite provision made for these activities nor is there a definite person in each project assigned to them. In a western city project, the responsibility for followup was passed back and forth between counselors and job developers. The greatest drawback is the unavailability of a standard form to record information. Granted that all projects are different—even unique—this does not invalidate the need for minimal data on each project.

Followup information should be communicated to staff members at regular meetings and they should be given an opportunity to discuss followup results. Each member can contribute different information about a youth and this should help to trace the linkage between learning and placement/job holding. Basically, the followup program should be formalized and not left to chance.

Another reason why followup may be neglected is the simple matter of priorities. A job developer or a counselor who is faced with the choice of spending time with an urgent case or with a client who is already employed will invariably choose the current case. Two activities might alter this emphasis. *There should be a regular proportion of staff time committed to followup activities and the importance of followup activities must be impressed on all staff members.* While service is an integral part of an E&D project, the long-run emphasis and gain from information identified through systematic followup will be more important than the actual numbers of youth who receive service.

The greatest difficulty in followup work is that ex-trainees are often impossible to locate. The MYEP project in Detroit reported about 50 percent residential changes among ex-trainees in the Detroit area and about one-half of these were out-migrant. In Cincinnati, the Preparation and Employment Program for Special Youth (PEPSY) staff tried to interview "successes" and "failures" but were unable to locate an adequate number of "failures." The CAP project in Washington, D.C., tried to use a control group in their followup plan but most of these could not be located. Frequently, as in the Wise County, Va., School Board project, the trainees had found employment far from the project center and were difficult to contact.

FOLLOWUP INFORMATION

The most complete followup information was recorded in the larger projects (MFY in New York, JOBS Now in Chicago, and MYEP in Detroit). Smaller projects frequently lacked information on the location and quality of placements, job retention patterns, and work adjustment. In projects where the emphasis was on continuous job development with employers, more followup information was available but it was largely anecdotal and unsystematic. As one would expect, information was more readily forthcoming from employers on cases of failure than in cases of success. Placing followup responsibility in the hands of the job developer introduces a serious bias in information. Since the job developer is in close contact with management he is apt to receive a one-sided account about any one case. Furthermore, he receives an account far removed from the location of the difficulty since his contact is apt to be with front office personnel staff rather than line personnel. The use of the "coach" system in Chicago was a more satisfactory solution to the information in followup since the process was continuous, probed many sources, and fed the information back into the project staff for discussion and analysis.

The single most important measure used in followup activities was: Did the youth obtain a job? But this item of information varied greatly across projects. In one project a youth was regarded as employed if he spent a single day on the job and then quit. Other projects regarded a youth as employed even if he was working only part time. In another project, a youth was counted as a successful trainee if he received a job at any time in a 3-month period following training. In some projects, relatively little emphasis was placed on the quality of work obtained but rather on the sheer fact of employment.

The issue of training-related employment versus nontraining-related employment was raised in followup activities a number of times. Several project directors felt that for these youth, the major issue was placement into meaningful jobs with mobility potential. Frequently, there was only a mild relationship between skills acquired in training and these new jobs; but these directors viewed the training experience regardless of skill content as a significant social and psychological experience that influenced employment. In these cases, youth with non-training related jobs were counted as successes.

SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

The purpose of a followup is (1) to obtain information on post-training job market experience and (2) to assess the need for and supply supportive services. In a number of instances, provision for supportive services had been made before placement and the followup task was to see what impact the services had. Supportive services, if they involve several agencies, may mean that independent followup studies are being made by several sources. The project personnel may, thus, face the further problem of assembling these diverse data, integrating them and making changes in supportive services as a response. When followup is confined to a reporting function, these nuances are missed.

EMPLOYER-TRAINEE REACTIONS

As developed by the various staffs, followup procedures emphasized who obtained what job and how. Only in a small number of cases was any emphasis given to: Reactions of employers to the trainees; reactions of the trainees to the training-placement experiences; and the trainee's reaction to his job. The information that was obtained was largely anecdotal and informal. A number of project directors reported that assessments of trainee performance required interviews with the immediate foreman, coworkers, and the trainee himself—activities that required time and staff beyond their immediate resources. Few systematic studies were made because there was a general lack of trained research personnel in the projects. Employers showed a considerable reluctance to engage in followup activities because they were time-consuming and felt to be of little value to the company. Only a small number of employers in the site visit areas had any formal arrangements with the project to participate in followup activities.

The most serious gap was the absence of some mechanism to communicate to the staff available information in these areas. In one case, an employer expressed an interest in taking more youth if some additional materials were added to the curriculums. Although the placement counselor was aware of this request, the information was never transmitted to the instructional staff. In CPI where employer involvement was high, this communication gap did not exist and training requirements were frequently adjusted to employer demand.

SUMMARY

In this report we have reviewed a substantial body of experience in E&D programs in job placement, job development, and job creation for disadvantaged youth. We feel that our observations suggest three basic conclusions:

1. Supportive services are needed for both employee and employer in facilitating job adjustment.

2. Total community resources must be mobilized and coordinated (health, housing, education, and community life) to produce the employable individual and jobs.

3. Employability programs must have

built into them guarantees of employment to insure the motivation needed to make training a success.

These three postulates must be at the core of any job development program. They mark a radical departure from the passive approach to job placement, in vogue only 10 years ago. In essence, they point to a manpower policy that is client rather than employer-oriented.

Job development assumes a continuous, organized, and interrelated effort in counseling, training, placement, job creation, and supportive services that are developed on the premise that our system of work can be modified to fit it to the skills and potentialities of the disadvantaged. A job development system necessarily assumes that the acquisition of skills is not enough and that many of the causes of unemployment and underemployment are woven into the fabric of our employment structure rather than residing in the individual himself. These perspectives are at the core of the active manpower policies that are being developed today.

Projects in Perspective . . . These must consider the strengths and weaknesses of E&D activities under the present system of organization and goals. In some communities, the E&D project has been a stimulus for changes in traditional patterns of manpower development for youth. In other communities the impact of E&D projects has been less than anticipated. It is encouraging, however, that such programs have been charted to seek solutions to one of the major manpower problems of the decade. If nothing else, the projects are a symbolic commitment that activity has been initiated to reexamine old pathways as well as to seek new solutions. Much of the criticism about the programs may be well grounded and indeed the most telling criticism—the lack of research orientation and rigorous research design—is undoubtedly true. But we are in a state of knowledge where perspectives are changing and probably we do not know enough at this time to develop scientific models to organize action. At this stage, trial and error practices mixed with educated hunch playing may be all that can be expected.

A more serious consideration is that the goals of the program were viewed more as service than as experimentation and demonstration by large numbers of the project staffs. This "brushfire emphasis" was apparent in almost all projects. Other than service delivery, few provisions had been made for the systematic recording of experiences, research or diffusion of information to relevant agencies. Although these points can be made of all phases of the projects, it was most apparent in job placement, creation and development. Most projects had not developed a definite plan to communicate these new practices and few projects had a commitment to extend or promulgate these practices in any form beyond the life of the E&D project. Most of the projects were conceived as efforts independent of existing community agencies, and indeed, many of the staff members considered these practices to be too innovative to be easily "sold" or incorporated into manpower agencies without significant changes in the manpower agencies. In many cases, the E&D project members saw their activities as antithetical and challenging rather than complementary to other agencies. In this context, the transmission and diffusion of information as well as its planned utilization in old line agencies was difficult.

Another serious handicap of the projects was the lack of contact with the funding agency—the U.S. Department of Labor. The small size of the Washington staff meant that contacts were rarely personalized and largely confined to budgetary or emergency problems. Practically no feedback was possible on progress reports, and consequently, there was a failure to develop promising leads or to terminate "blind leads." One of the obvious barriers to development was the lack of intelligent and critical analysis of operations from an outside source.

Suggested Guidelines . . . The E&D projects do suggest a number of working principles that could serve as guidelines in job development. We stress "suggest" because these principles seem sound reference points based on practice rather than being the products of scientifically developed study findings. Summing up our experience thus far, these guidelines seem sound, but they should and must be subjected to rigorous testing and analysis.

1. If possible, the job should be waiting for the trainee by course completion and every effort should be made to minimize the time gap between course completion and job entry. The trainee craves some measure of "instant success" and this is given to him by a clear view of the availability of a job, its content, and its prospects. "Time compression" between training and actual job entry minimizes the risk that the disadvantaged youth will lose interest. Frequently, the trainee's main problem is a lack of income and its consequences. This problem can be solved only by remunerative participation in a job.

2. Job placement must be viewed as more than merely finding a job; it also involves job preparation as an integral part of the process. Basic to this job preparation is a series of remedial measures—medical, social education, work discipline training—coupled with measures to reassure the job applicant in testing and interview situations.

3. The mechanics of matching youth to jobs should begin far in advance of the completion of the training period and should involve consultation with the trainees, the teachers, the counselors, and the field personnel who solicit jobs. It must be recognized that the counseling-training-placement-job finding process is not a series of discrete activities but must involve a basic unit if the agency is to further the basic interests of the client.

4. The strategy in job creation is to sell the employer a logic of operation rather than the services of a particular client. The employer is being asked to go beyond the mere hiring of the applicant; it is incumbent on him to make changes and modifications in his occupational and work structure to create "new jobs." It is basic that these modifications must improve his operation rather than be rationalized as a social cost.

5. Successful job creation projects are those that gain professional involvement at every step of the program. We assume that the professional is the best judge of what job duties can be subprofessionalized. His involvement must not be restricted to a symbolic role. His expertise and cooperation must be solicited to create the job, set the standards, and define superordinate-subordinate relationships.

6. As the youth employment project gets established and develops a good reputation with employers, repeat orders and a "multiplication effect" account for an increased percentage of job orders. Job development should be more intensive at the beginning of a project and require more resources. Once the basic foundation and pathways are developed, a steady flow of job applicants can be expected to be successful following in the footsteps of earlier candidates.

7. Followup activities of clients should utilize indigenous workers, experience having shown that their performance in followup work surpasses that of professional workers. The familiarity with low income neighborhoods and both psychological and cultural rapport give the indigenous workers a decided advantage in seeking and establishing contact with ex-clients. The use of indigenous workers serves a dual purpose: Development of more accurate information and the establishment of a strong link betwen project and client.

8. Effective job development requires that job developers interact on a continuous and regular basis with other staff and components of the project and that some contact with individual youth be made available to them. The possibility of becoming overspecialized and impersonal is a real danger in the job development role. By his very activities, the job developer is an analyst of management rather than of project client problems. There is a real danger that he may overidentify with management if some steps are not taken to check these tendencies.

9. Learning new skills and knowledge about job openings does not guarantee job placement, since in many cases clients do not translate this learning into performance. We are limited in the extent to which the client can be "prepared" for jobs. The failure of clients to act, even when information is available, suggests that certain assurances about work must be built into the placement process. One effective assurance is the availability of supportive

services to aid him in job adjustment.

10. A more effective strategy in job placement than contacts with individual companies is to work through industry or business associations to promote the employment of disadvantaged youth. Frequently, the job vacancies that are important are not those that happen to occur in a single company at one point in time but rather the chronic job shortage patterns in an industry or a cluster of companies. Knowledge of the latter permit a developmental program on a long-range, sustaining basis rather than "one-shot."

11. The development of new jobs for disadvantaged youth must involve career development rather than merely job placement. The haste to create "new jobs for the poor" frequently overlooks the fact that the poor, like the affluent, are not only interested in holding a job but also in what the job means in terms of opportunities for advancement. A "created job" should not be viewed only as a slot to be filled, but rather as a starting point in a job network.

12. The employer must develop a mental set in which his employment decisions are mainly governed by the growth potential of the candidate rather than be solely concerned with negative assumptions about his job worth or predicting his success or failure. Getting the employer to adopt more realistic qualifications for jobs is an important consideration. A major breakthrough can be achieved when the employer is less concerned with what the client has been than what he can become.

13. There should be a regular proportion of staff time committed to followup activities and the importance of followup activities must be impressed on all staff members. What happens to a client after training or counseling may be more important than what has happened to him during his association with the project. Followup activities should not take a back seat to other priorities but should be an opportunity both for information gathering and supportive services.

These 13 guidelines are suggestive and begin to emerge as basic reference points for job placement and job development activities. We have restricted ourselves to a listing of postulates that seem to have had extensive verification through practice. The above report has certainly indicated many other insights and glimpses that need to be further tested and verified. These constitute crude but necessary beginnings to the development of a much larger body of verified information in these areas.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

We conclude our presentation by making certain recommendations for action. Of all E&D activities, the processes discussed in this paper—job placement, job creation, and job development—have been the subject of the most trial and error practices and guesswork. Far more systematic emphasis has been paid to other employment processes. The truth is, however, that servicing the client between the training situation and employment has become an important fact of life and certainly too important to be left to chance. Our first concern is basic to the recommendations that follow. *Our knowledge of job placement and job development is just beginning. We must reorder E&D priorities and invest more project time in job placement and job development.* We have made some headway in mastering the techniques of learning; our problem now is to master the techniques of teaching youth how to translate learning into performance.

We present four categories of recommendations: (1) Information retrieval and utilization; (2) research; (3) interagency relations; and (4) followup activities. Let us consider each one in turn.

INFORMATION

As we have indicated, project emphasis has been on service rather than on the systematic recording, storing, and dissemination of information. The first step is obvious: There must be some preliminary move to retrieve, index, and store information for potential users. Several staff members suggested an "idea" bank where information can routinely be solicited on particular problems. But the "idea" bank itself would be useless without the development of some special facility or personnel to advise job developers on the utility of particular information. We see the parallel to the reference librarian who knows where the information is and its significance.

The Manpower Administration's "Operation Retrieval," the exercise which resulted in these papers, was an obvious first step in the process of retrieving information, but the project will have fallen short of its mark if it does not seek out and identify parallel information in private as well as other government agencies. The project is also obligated to communicate this information to operational personnel, utilizing the extensive capabilities of communication dissemination in public and private organizations, particularly the academic community.

All too often, the information retrieval process is oversimplified by reducing the process to one word, "feedback." However, many people who have access to feedback fail to use the information. Some provision must, then, be made to followup the users and provide special detail counseling on how the information is to be used. The agricultural extension worker not only delivers the new seed to the farmer, but he shows how it is to be planted and discusses operational problems. The parallel to our discussion is obvious.

But information dissemination and followup is not enough if an impact is to be made on the practices of an organization. There must be some knowledge of the organizational structure and the legal underpinning of such an organization. What is needed is a new community role—the manpower expediter—that incorporates information on manpower techniques with the subtle nuances of organizational and community structure. The manpower expediter should be outside of any government agency but be provided with the technical expertise and staff to provide and implement information in any agency.

Needless to say, information retrieval must not be a residual activity but must be provided for in the initial planning stages of a project. The information function should be built into the project and adequately financed.

RESEARCH

Systematic research efforts, anticipated or unanticipated at the beginning of the project, must be provided for both financially and with staff expertise. With the backlog of E&D projects available, it would now be possible to select successful cases of job placement and job development and develop systematic studies to analyze these instances in depth. Two research topics suggest themselves immediately: How and under what conditions are knowledge and innovation transmitted and utilized, and what are the emerging dimensions of the job developer and job "coach" roles? In regard to the latter, who are the successful and unsuccessful job developers and job coaches?

INTERAGENCY RELATIONS

It has become increasingly apparent that job development requires the resource cooperation of a wide range of agencies. What is suggested is the need for a task force approach where authority to make resources available can be expedited to avoid time consuming battles with red tape. The task force should have as its main purpose the charting of a manpower mazeway with appropriate availability of resources at key points. Thus, the U.S. Public Health Service representative could act to make remedial health services available to job applicants who had apparent health deficiencies in the screening for training phase.

Provision must be made to continue successful E&D practices in the framework of more traditional agencies. We strongly recommend that a program of internships be established to provide the opportunity for personnel in older agencies to apprentice in some of the new job development activities. As a corollary, we recommend that every effort be made through subsidy and other forms of encouragement to provide that successful E&D practices be continued in some form after completion of the activity.

FOLLOWUP ACTIVITIES

We strongly recommend that followup activities be given a higher priority in organizational activities. This means adequate financial provision for an in-house training program and adequate personnel to staff a followup unit. There is an obvious necessity for the development of guidelines as to what are the proper goals of followup activities and what structure should underpin them. We specifically recommend that a particular staff member or unit be made responsible for this activity.

experimental and demonstration programs

using the nonprofessional

Charles Grosser

breakthrough for disadvantaged youth

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USING THE NONPROFESSIONAL

Although nonprofessionals for many years have been employed in program positions by service organizations, recently there has been a great increase in the number of such workers and in the attention devoted to various aspects of their employment.

The term "nonprofessional" refers to many disparate kinds of workers. Included under this rubric are holders of B.A. degrees who provide services ordinarily dispensed by M.A.'s or Ph.D's, persons with some college training who holds jobs ordinarily requiring a B.A., students, and local residents of the target neighborhood who may not have finished high school and whose income may be under the poverty level—to mention a few.

In this chapter, nonprofessional is used in its broadest sense, to cover all untrained personnel (middle class, indigenous . . .) and all ranks of nonprofessional activity (ancillary, substitute, assistant, aide). A major focus of attention will be on the "indigenous" worker—a resident of the target area, comparable to the service population in such respects as race or ethnicity, income, and educational level.

Youth-training programs authorized by the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) have frequently been part of comprehensive projects which encompass many services. Most of these comprehensive programs were funded by a variety of public and voluntary sources and are centrally administered. Under the auspices of other sponsors, these projects have utilized nonprofessionals in various program divisions. Although this report is concerned primarily with youth employment programs, it will make reference to uses of nonprofessionals in other divisions, in the belief that the experience of the nonprofessional in the project as a whole is relevant to the manpower program in particular.

OBJECTIVES IN USING NONPROFESSIONALS

This paper is based on a comprehensive review of reports and other documents prepared and collected by the more than 50 E&D youth-training programs funded by the Manpower Administration (MA). From among these projects, five were chosen for site visits because they appeared to be using nonprofessional staff in innovative or significant ways. The five programs are geographically disparate. Although all are located in large cities, no city represents a "typical" urban setting.

Since the historic social legislation enacted in the 30's, the number of agencies providing health, education, and welfare services has greatly increased. The past three decades have seen the creation of what is virtually a new industry, designed to meet the service demand of an increasingly urban, industrial, highly organized, technical Nation. The complexity and specialization of our contemporary society has required public programs to provide for such contingencies as retirement, unemployment, illness, and disability, as well as for the recreational, educational, and vocational needs of the populace. The personnel requirements of this industry comprise a major portion of the Nation's job market.

Within the last 5 or 6 years, the need for this personnel has been intensified by the expansion of existing programs, such as services provided under the Social Security Act, as well as by programs such as community mental health and urban renewal. In addition, the early demonstration projects funded under the MDTA and the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act have evolved into an all out "war on poverty," based essentially on the provision of additional services to the millions of poor. The manpower needs of this vast mandate impose impossible demands on the service professions and thus have stimulated much of the current activity regarding the use of nonprofessionals.

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BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN INSTITUTIONS AND CLIENTS

Accompanying the increase in welfare and service institutions over the last several decades has been an expansion in the range of the persons served by these institutions. This reflects a public policy objective, to provide service to a full spectrum of the Nation's population. Services originally limited to those who were most amenable to treatment and whose prognosis was most positive have been extended to those whose problems are numerous, acute, and unlikely to be solved rapidly.[1] Thus ethnic minorities, the unemployed, the undereducated, migrant workers, and matriarchal families, among other groups, have become the concern of employment bureaus, vocational rehabilitation and guidance agencies, social security and welfare bureaus, and voluntary agencies as well as poverty programs. This interest in serving the total community reflects both an increasing social consciousness and a growing sensitivity to practical politics. The trend to urbanization (three-fourths of the Nation's population is located in urban centers) has awarded the city enormous influence in national politics. The elective process, in the reapportionment and one-man, one-vote issues, acknowledges this new power.

In an earlier day, welfare agencies denied service to persons whom they judged to be unemployable, uneducable, unmotivated, immoral, or incorrigible. But the same factors which have led welfare agencies to serve new deprived groups today keep them from abandoning these clients when it appears that the programs they offer are unsuited to the clients' needs.

Agency programs have generally been offered in a style very different from that of the target population and have been staffed by professionals who tend to differ from the clients in ethnicity, education, and other social class indexes. Agency programs and policies have usually been created by central decision making bodies far removed from the service neighborhood. These factors have produced a gap between the service institution and the target population. The nonprofessional worker, indigenous to the population served, is seen as a bridge between the institution and the culturally and economically deprived community. The expansion of staff to include some members of this class as dispensers of service does not require the service agency to alter its program, replace its present staff, or revise the legislative or corporate mandate under which it operates. The use of local persons is perhaps the least threatening way of developing rapport with the new client.

The indigenous nonprofessional is seen as having mutual interests and common cause with program participants, able to communicate freely with them because, like them, he is poor, resides in the neighborhood, and shares minority-group status, common background, and language. It is assumed that nonprofessional staff, being of the community, will not render judgments, either clinical or moral, about client behavior.

Local nonprofessionals are often hired because they have succeeded in mastering the intricacies of urban slum life and can teach program participants how to do likewise. The service they offer is very different from that provided by the more clinically oriented professional. It is direct, immediate, and pragmatic. The nonprofessional may, for example, help a work trainee to succeed in a job culture by teaching him not to be a rate buster, how to get along with the foreman, and the like. He may provide a welfare client with knowledge, inadvertently or deliberately withheld by the department, which enables the client to obtain larger benefits. In both instances, techniques will be both informal and unofficial. The nonprofessional may suggest stretching or bending rules and regulations on behalf of the client. This should cause no alarm, for it is apparent that professionals and administrators similarly stretch rules on behalf of agency, or for expedience or economy.

In all these ways, local nonprofessionals provide the institution with sufficient flexibility to remain in contact with program participants who otherwise would be excluded from service. Yet considerable opposition to the use of such personnel has been generated. Even in agencies which operate out of directives that indigenous nonprofessionals be employed, compliance is often reluctant, and every effort is made to ensure that the service program remains intact.

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[1] Cf. Eveline Burns, "Social Security in Evolution Toward What?" *Social Service Review*, June 1965, pp. 129-140.

HIRING THE UNEMPLOYED

The fact that, in the midst of great national prosperity, chronic unemployment and widespread poverty persist among certain segments of the population was forcibly brought to public attention by Michael Harrington[2] and others in the early 60's. Many proposals have been offered to remedy this situation. As a solution to poverty in plenty, for example, Robert Theobold[3] and others have proposed that a minimum income level be established below which no family would be permitted to drop. Arthur Pearl and Frank Riesmann[4] seek the solution in the creation of a million welfare-service jobs for the poor. They claim that the bulk of professional time is spent in activity which could be handled no less effectively by the nonprofessional and suggest that their approach will not only provide jobs for the technologically unemployed, but will reduce estrangement between service agency and disadvantaged client and fill a chronic manpower need.

FULFILLING DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY

The democratic egalitarian traditions of our Nation are based on the idea that all citizens must participate actively in governmental and decisionmaking processes. Numerous studies indicate, however, that by such indexes as membership in voluntary associations and voting behavior, the very poor are significantly less active than other groups. In fact, by any absolute measure of activism, they do not exercise their franchise or participate in the affairs of community life. They are therefore without voice, power, and influence, and thus belie our democratic image.

Among the many sociopolitical strategies put forward to rectify this situation are programs designed for the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor, such as the community action projects established under title II of the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA).[5] The involvement of the poor in the development and the administration of these programs, as called for in the act, has aroused considerable controversy. Participation of the poor on a policymaking level has been opposed by many diverse critics. It is for this reason that the majority of antipoverty programs meet their mandate to involve the poor by employing local residents in the "conducting" function, or the dispensation of antipoverty largesse. The employment of local persons is often made a requirement of the project, without which it could not exist. Some service programs therefore employ nonprofessionals without regard for how they might best be used, but simply as a means of bringing a program into existence.

HELPER THERAPY

Observers have been struck by the fact that programs which use people in trouble to help others with similar difficulties are often as successful in helping the provider of service as in helping the recipient.[6]

Such programs as Synanon and Parents Without Partners appear to have regularized this phenomenon to the point where the roles of patient and therapist become indistinguishable; the course of treatment is for the patient to devote his energies to the rehabilitation of others. One of the projects under review which employed adolescents as tutors of younger children illustrates this phenomenon most dramatically. Local high school students were assigned to tutor fourth- and fifth-grade pupils who were severely retarded in reading development. Many of the tutors themselves were below grade in their school work, and their educational and employment future was bleak. Over a study period of several months, the youngsters who were tutored as much as 4 hours a week showed significant improvement when compared to a control group. Even more striking—and unexpected—was the improvement made by the tutors, which exceeded the gains made by pupils.[7]

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[2] Michael Harrington, *The Other America* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1963).

[3] Robert Theobold, *Free Men and Free Markets* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1963).

[4] Arthur Pearl and Frank Riesmann, *New Careers for the Poor* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1965).

[5] Public Law 88-452, Aug. 20, 1964, title II, section 202, a3. "The term community action program means a program which is developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served; . . ."

[6] Frank Riesmann, "The Helper Therapy Principle," *Social Work*, April 1965.

The ultimate objective of many nonprofessional approaches is to channel some of the forces within the deprived community itself into rehabilitative and restorative efforts so that the client becomes able to help himself. Complementing the service component in such efforts are attempts to break the cycle of pessimism and defeat which plagues low-income persons. In a society in which the highest value is placed on success in the world of work, there is no more potent device for enhancing self-esteem than meaningful, productive employment. The employment of nonprofessionals may therefore produce therapeutic results simply by awarding these workers status, regardless of the benefits derived in the helping process.

NONPROFESSIONALS AND THEIR ASSIGNMENTS

Nonprofessionals associated with the various youth projects have been drawn from diverse backgrounds. They include indigenous local residents and clients, middle-class volunteers, graduate and undergraduate college students (both as volunteers and on field-training assignments), VISTA volunteers and Peace Corps trainees. Both youth and adults have been utilized as nonprofessional program personnel. In one single large-scale project, virtually all these categories of nonprofessionals have been used concurrently, as follows:

1. Student Project Assistance: Graduates of the youth-employment counseling program were given general ancillary responsibilities, such as driver, assistant receptionist, interpreter of the youth-training program to the community.

2. Interns: Part-time (30 hours per week) college students were assigned tutoring, counseling, job-development, and other professional responsibilities.

3. VISTA Volunteers: Full-time volunteers were assigned to tutoring and community work.

4. Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) Trainees: Youngsters enrolled in the NYC and placed in project programs were assigned such ancillary responsibilities as clerical, research, and custodial assistants.

5. Neighborhood Adult-Participation Project Aides: These full-time employees in the project's community development program carried many responsibilities among which were assignments to the youth-training program as work crew foremen.

6. Volunteers (students, professionals, and housewives): These residents offered a variety of services, both professional (as psychotherapy, tattoo removal, legal services) and nonprofessional (tutoring assistant).

7. Work-Study Students: College students from low-income families being assisted under the EOA were assigned to assist in job development, counseling, tutoring.

8. Vocational Rehabilitation and Social Work Trainees: These trainees were assigned appropriately to programs which would facilitate their professional training.

BACKGROUND OF WORKERS

Nonprofessionals may be categorized as indigenous to the target community or separate from it. Indigenous workers are those who reside in the target area, engage in social, economic, and political processes similar to those of the program participants, and are matched with them in such characteristics as social class, ethnicity, race, religion, language, culture, and mores. Many projects have recruited such nonprofessional staff from the broader community beyond the target area, but we shall continue to call these workers indigenous if they are matched with clients on general face-sheet characteristics. In attempting to fill crew chief positions, for example, projects have frequently and difficulty in finding local residents with the necessary work skills. The search for such persons in the broader community was often futile as well, since for many crafts the candidate's racial and ethnic characteristics, which provide the indigenous match, preclude the acquisition of work skill qualifications. In projects which attempted to prepare youth for work through training in carpentry, masonry, plumbing, and other building trades, the crew chief often matched the client only on certain working-class attributes but not on residential, racial, or cultural characteristics. Other divisions in the same project which did not require the work-related skills were able to employ nonprofessionals who were native to the target area and representative of its population. In general, the projects appear to have been most successful in hiring indigenous nonprofessionals for assignments which did not require a high degree of formal technical skill.

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[7] Robert Cloward, "Studies in Tutoring" (New York: Research Center, Columbia University School of Social Work, 1966), mimeographed.

Nonprofessional staff that was separate from the target population and community sometimes became associated with the program, almost accidentally. This was particularly true of volunteers. The experiences of the projects with volunteers are so disparate as to defy classification. Some of these nonprofessionals were typical social agency volunteers offering their services in their leisure as a gesture of noblesse oblige. Others were young radicals who settled in ghettos as a matter of personal choice, virtually as missionaries or colonizers, who offered their services as part of their political ideological commitment. In a number of instances, volunteers were arbitrarily thrust upon the projects and were accepted with resentment and misgivings. In these cases relationships with the project tended to become pro forma and were usually short lived.

In their early attempts to reach unemployed youth, training projects located in Spanish-speaking ghettos were faced with language barriers. In order to provide counseling as well as other services, it was necessary to find Spanish-speaking professionals. The search soon revealed that Spanish-speaking minority-group members had been systematically excluded from the professions.

Because of the need to establish a relationship as a functional therapeutic device there is an inordinate dependence on the spoken word in counseling, tutoring, social work, and other such rehabilitation services. For this reason the use of translators with English-speaking professionals is impractical. Projects therefore recruited Spanish-speaking persons with some college or a college degree to provide such services. These workers were sometimes called aides or intake workers to distinguish them from their fully trained counterparts, but these distinctions tended to fade rather quickly. Recruitment of nonindigenous Negro staff took place for similar reasons, in the belief that Negro clients would communicate more fully with Negro workers than with white personnel.[8] Many projects also recruited Negro and Spanish personnel in an attempt to meet political pressure for integration exerted by civil rights and other activist and community groups.

Often such nonprofessional personnel were selected instead of indigenous persons. One project describes an extensive screening process which eliminated 30 or 40 indigenous applicants because they were deficient in communication skills and lacked preprofessional experience. The positions in question were ultimately filled by Negro and Puerto Rican workers, all of whom had had at least 3 years of college. These applicants had work backgrounds in teaching in the rural South, recreation work in a large city, and work as a research assistant.

Most projects employed nonprofessionals

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[8] John Martin, "Social-Cultural Differences: Barriers in Casework with Delinquents," *Social Work,* July 1957.

on a full-time, paid basis, and most employed nonprofessionals were adults. With few exceptions, use of youth in service positions has been the assignment of NYC trainees to various projects for work experience. In these instances, of course, the project is not the employer of the nonprofessional youth, nor does it assume direct responsibility for supervising him.

TYPES OF ASSIGNMENTS

The wide variety of tasks to which nonprofessionals have been assigned may be subsumed under four categories: Direct service responsibilities, responsibilities ancillary to the professional service, responsibilities establishing "bridges" or ties to the target community, and assignments totally apart from the professional services of the project. This last category, which simply needs to be acknowledged rather than discussed, consists in the main of clerical and custodial assignments often given to NYC, Peace Corps trainees, and others, particularly volunteers, whom the project is forced to accept. Although this pattern is not uncommon, it does not characterize every assignment made to such nonprofessionals.

Direct service responsibilities—the least common of the four categories—refer to services usually transmitted to the client through the professional worker, for example, counseling, remediation, job development, tutoring, and teaching. In the projects reviewed, there were examples of nonprofessionals providing each of these services directly to the client. Such assignments make best use of the skills peculiar to the nonprofessional, for example, his enthusiasm and spontaneity.

Direct assignment also tends to utilize such nonprofessional qualities as the ability to communicate with clients, through common language or style; empathy with the client through shared life experience; and the ability to help clients negotiate the complexities of the ghetto.

Assignment to responsibilities ancillary to the provision of professional service is the most common way of using nonprofessionals. Some of these assignments are rather remote from the professional services being offered. In contrast to the wholly unrelated assignment, however, they are located within the program and are related to the client group. Ancillary responsibilities may consist of clerical, administrative, transport, and other such duties which help to bring the client and the service into productive contact. Further along the continuum toward direct assignment are tasks which are instrumental in preparing the client for the professional service, for example, reception, intake, and vestibule services, which are frequently assigned to nonprofessional personnel.

Such assignments as recruitment and followup involve a large measure of independent service. Nonprofessionals on these assignments generally operate directly in the neighborhood away from the supports and structure of the project agency. They are called upon to exercise considerable imagination and ingenuity, particularly when they deal with youth whom the agency has failed to induct or for whom service has been ineffective. Although successful recruitment or followup ultimately entails turning the client over to a professional for service, the nonprofessional task is perhaps more accurately viewed as contiguous rather than ancillary. Within the ancillary assignment, as one moves from the remote to the contiguous, the opportunities for exploiting indigenous qualities appear to increase.

Recruitment and followup to some degree serve a bridge function. However, the assignments which we classify as bridge have more to do with project community relations on an institutional basis. In speaking engagements, door-to-door canvassing, leaflet distribution, and visiting youth groups and PTA's, the nonprofessional acts as agency spokesman to the target community and the community at large. The use of nonprofessionals in these capacities is often a viable device for persuading the target community that services are being offered by a congenial institution. (It can, however, become a public relations gimmick, an attempt to represent the agency as ethnically, or culturally indigenous when in fact it may not be. It is something of an anomaly that the employment of nonprofessionals can be offered as tokenism to avoid the actual reordering of a public institution along congenial indigenous lines.)

Work-training projects tend to discriminate between indigenous and more formally trained nonprofessionals. The former group gets more irrelevant and fewer direct assignments. The ancillary tasks assigned them tend to be remote rather than contiguous. Middle-class nonprofessionals are utilized more frequently in direct assignment, often in ways indistinguishable from the professional. Agency representatives indicated that they would be willing to promote such nonprofessionals into professional positions, although few actually did. Where youth employment projects were part of comprehensive programs, this tendency was not so pronounced in other program divisions. Although indigenous nonprofessionals in employment projects were not assigned to provide counseling or remediation, they did provide social work services (casework, group work, and especially community organization) and educational services (tutoring, citizenship, and consumer) in other divisions of the same project. The failure to use indigenous nonprofessionals in employment was more pronounced in the counseling than in work readiness programs. Crew chiefs and on-the-job-training personnel did include numbers of indigenous persons.

SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

The use of nonprofessionals in MDTA youth programs was in large part the result of influence exerted by the Federal funding agencies. Federal agencies provided the service agencies with funds for the employment of nonprofessionals and indicated that Federal support was contingent upon use of the funds for that purpose. A number of respondents were convinced that should Federal supports be removed, agencies and projects would stop using nonprofessionals. It is significant that this opinion appears to apply primarily to nonprofessional emloyees who are indigenous to the service community.

In part this reluctance reflects the resentment that many project administrators and agency executives feel at being compelled to employ large numbers of minority group indigenous persons. According to one respondent, the project was "paying the price for one hundred years of discrimination by the entire community." Although others expressed their conviction that nonprofessionals were vital to successful project program, they frequently felt inhibited with regard to reassigning or dismissing these indigenous personnel because of fear of community reprisals. When the administrative head of one project dismissed the director of a neighborhood program which employed many indigenous nonprofessionals, these workers picketed project headquarters and eventually involved the local congressman and the regional Office of Economic Opportunity. As a result, in large measure, of the public turmoil the workers were able to raise the professional director was rehired with considerable loss of face for the project administration. This incident resulted in widespread enmity among professionals associated with the project regarding this program in particular and indigenous workers in general. The potential for a reenactment of this situation exists in all projects, programs, and agencies which employ local residents.

THE NONPROFESSIONAL AND THE AGENCY

The attitude of various State Employment Service (ES) offices illustrates that they perceive a threat inherent in the use of local personnel stemming from the fact that the employment of such persons forces the agency to a degree of accountability to the client community. This is contrary to the pattern traditional in all service agencies of professional self-regulation and accountability to the total community and to the employment service's views of its responsibility to the employer.

The district manager of a State ES office which itself employs nonprofessional staff complained that the nonprofessional doesn't play by the rules. The persistence with which such workers undertake job development, he claimed, often alienates employers: They tend to demand rather than ask for job placements. In addition these workers are not content to stay within the parameters of their assigned tasks; they want to "take over the entire agency."

A demonstration project staff member observed that turnover among nonprofessional provisional workers in that Bureau of Employment Security (BES) was inordinately high. "The best provisionals end up being the ones who fail the tests and get fired." According to this respondent, this phenomenon cannot be explained in terms of the workers' failure to meet State job standards, since the Employment Service could train provisionals to take tests just as the project prepares trainees to take tests. The phenomenon illustrates the former reluctance of the Employment Service to hire and to retain local nonprofessionals. Once hired, these staff are generally abrasive to the operation of the office as conceived by its executive, and a high turnover rate ensues. According to project informants, further evidence could be found in the high turnover rate of Counselor Aide University Summer Education (CAUSE) counselors in the Employment Service.

A nonprofessional who served as a neighborhood extension (or outreach) worker for the Employment Service office voiced a number of grievances regarding lack of Employment Service cooperation. She charged that supportive counseling services were not provided, that only certain kinds of jobs were made available to her people, and, most particularly, that the Employment Service did not take her word for anything. What was the use, she asked, of a neighborhood extension program if all the information gathered through that program was verified independently by the downtown office? The Employment Service office felt that nonprofessionals were useful in preemployment and intake functions but lacked the skill and training to operate effectively beyond this point; professional counselors therefore had to take over. This view reflected in part an ideological disparity between the professional and the nonprofessional. The nonprofessional apparently feels that the most important thing to be done for the client is to get him a job while the professional feels that "one has to correct the root of the unemployment problem through programs of counseling, training, and education which will make the person employable." The professional also tends to select the most amenable candidates, excluding "drifters, gamblers, and hustlers," while the nonprofessional believes that the service should be available to all on a first come, first served basis. It is clear that there are both merits and problems in each of these points of view. Despite the strains, the Employment Service has managed to contain both elements. Its administration describes the nonprofessional in program as a "must."

The use of nonprofessionals in the projects and in the public welfare service agencies in particular must be seen in terms of institutional change, as well as service objectives. The introduction of a program device as innovative as this one, even if the original intention is only to improve service, must soon produce strains leading to alterations in patterns of agency function. A somewhat anomalous circumstance surrounds this social change objective in that it is articulated by the staff of the Community Action Program (CAP) agency which administers the Federal funds but not by the public agencies which are the targets of the change. Thus the antipoverty administrators conceive of the nonprofessionals as change agents while the welfare agency sees them as facilitating existing services. It would appear that the stress inherent in this situation is exacerbated by this dual perception.

The experience of a neighborhood employment office nonprofessional illustrates the way in which alterations in service impinge on general agency function. Because of this worker's roots in the community, she is contacted on matters pertaining to all programs offered by the local CAP. While being interviewed for this review, the worker received a call from a local resident, greatly agitated because her welfare worker was investigating a report that she was receiving income for babysitting. The information had been given to the welfare worker by the Head Start coordinator, who was working with the family for which the babysitting was said to have taken place. After hearing from the client, the employment aide called the Head Start worker, the welfare worker, and the neighborhood family to ascertain the facts. She then explained to the welfare worker that no payment had been made for sitting, that funds were not being diverted from the regular family food budget for this purpose, and that this was, after all, the kind of neighborliness to be encouraged in building community pride and spirit.

The indigenous worker then explained to the Head Start worker, politely but firmly, that babysitting arrangements on the part of the Head Start family were none of the worker's business. If she inadvertently became privy to such information she should keep it to herself. Later, describing her own work, she said that if she succeeds in helping a person on public assistance to get a job, she does not share this fact with the local welfare department. She points out to the client that he is required to inform the department and that she hopes he will do so. However, she can understand that need may drive the client to withhold information, and she will not interfere with this.

In this instance, the worker remains loyal to indigenous rather than professional values and behavior patterns. The community's acceptance of this worker as interpreter, confidante, and advocate is undoubtedly a response to this loyalty. Her professional associates in the CAP agency regard her with some fear and suspicion. The Employment Service people look upon her as a troublemaker, and top agency administrators tend to see her as a model of what the indigenous nonprofessional ought to be. The question of whether the indigenous worker is loyal to the neighborhood or to the agency is not always resolved in so clear-cut a manner.

In another project, another nonprofessional indigenous worker faced with the same dilemma indicated that she would share information with her agency, but not with the welfare agency, if the client refused to do so. This worker expressed a sense of alienation from her own community. Regarding her relationships with her neighbors after being employed by the youth project, she indicated that "the people do stand off, they feel that you are not the same." It appears that nonprofessionals who feel this alienation tend to seek acceptance from the agency staff group, where they are likely to take on additional values, attitudes, and norms of behavior alien to the neighborhood.

Another factor which appears to have a bearing on where the indigenous nonprofessional will build continuing loyalties is the nature of the job assignment. In the first instance described above the worker was employed in a direct service capacity; the responsibilities of the second worker were ancillary. Primary identification with the community seems to be enhanced if the nonprofessional is engaged in activity that can stand on its own. Where the nonprofessional's successful performance was tied to a client's amenability to service to be provided by a professional colleague, high professional identification and orientation ensued. Where performance was independent and community participation by heretofore unserved persons was esteemed, identification with community was primary. In the project in which the professionally oriented ancillary worker is located, there is a division in which nonprofessionals are used in direct service capacities. These workers, drawn from the same community, of identical class and racial background and employed under the same project executive, are militantly identified with community.

RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

Although professional and nonprogram staff are systematically and regularly recruited through conventional channels, such as employment services and ads, nonprofessionals are apparently recruited on an ad hoc basis. Community informants, particularly such influentials as local welfare agency executives, clergymen, political leaders, and school officials, are often asked to refer local persons for employment. Sometimes "outstanding" residents are specified. Even when this is not explicitly done, the persons referred tend to be those who have assumed some leadership in the organization with which the referrer is affiliated.

In most cases, neither the local institutions which do the recruiting nor the projects have formally specified the qualities which they seek in nonprofessional staff. One informant indicated, however, that his project sought "a quickness of mind and a capacity for growth," along with "a public capability to lead and organize." Nonprofessionals in this project appear to have a good measure of the qualities sought. In a project in another city, staff have indicated that they seek nonprofessionals with white-collar experience. High priority has been placed on the ability to prepare written reports and to participate easily in staff meetings and conferences. This project expressly attempts to avoid nonprofessionals who are "too overidentified with the client." (It is interesting to note that the white-collar experience which this project seeks apparently successfully screens out those who tend to be overidentified.) In still another city, the project staff sought persons with a strong personality and a strong positive commitment to the agency, "dogooders" were not welcome in staff positions.

Still another agency at its inception developed differential recruitment practices and standards for its various categories of nonprofessional staff, depending on the function they were intended to fill. One group, which helped local residents with household management, was selected from a list of women recommended by local settlements and churches. The qualities sought were homemaking skills, demonstrated mastery of the intricacies of urban slum living, and good feeling toward people. Members of another group, hired to teach a craft or work skills to young people, were recruited directly from industry. They were not local residents or affiliated with local welfare or religious institutions. Community workers were recruited from among the local unaffiliated residents. The quality sought was leadership, which was measured in terms of following; thus, influential community persons who were not involved in community institutions were selected. As is apparent, very different kinds of nonprofessionals were hired in each of these job categories.

One project developed written specifications which described job qualifications and requirements (as well as responsibilites and benefits). It is of interest, with regard to possible replication of MDTA experience, that this community subsequently developed a highly sophisticated CAP program which included specifications for each distinctive nonprofessional position.

Requirements included local residence, prior work experience, and participation in the PTA, the scouts, a union, a fraternal group, or some other similar organization. Personal characteristics sought were maturity, the ability to work with people, agency loyalty, participation in some form of personal upgrading, and willingness to undertake training, if necessary. Educational requirements are listed as high school, General Educational Development Test, or strong potential for GED. The specifications noted that the position for which the nonprofessional was to be hired was regarded, not as an end in itself, but as a means of helping him find a permanent place in the labor force or encouraging him to seek additional training. Although many of the requirements and conditions listed in these documents are the same as those of other projects, the fact that they are available to candidates and recruiters makes for a consistency in the selection of nonprofessionals that is too often lacking in practice.

Two of the projects surveyed in connection with this report indicated that they had interviewed candidates for nonprofessional employment who had been trained under a Manpower Administration grant to the National Committee for the Employment of Youth. One project found none of these candidates suitable for employment as counseling and job-development aides. The other project employed seven of these trainees in such direct assignments as recruiters, work-readiness evaluators, and assistant crew chiefs. Apparently a project's ability to make effective use of nonprofessionals depends more on its willingness to surrender areas of professional discretion to them than on issues of training, or the availability of trained applicants. Competence is judged differently by different projects, and it is likely that each sees the nonprofessional as serving a different organizational purpose.

Nonprofessional staff have also been

drawn from among local people who were active in the project as volunteers. Recruits of this kind pose problems for those local residents who continue to serve as volunteers, particularly for those who are engaged in activities similar to those of the employed worker.

A number of projects reported that the target community was involved in choosing nonprofessional personnel through the participation of residents in selection committees. In some instances these committees see all candidates; others see candidates who have been screened by the project's administration. Some committees make specific recommendations for hiring; others designate which candidates are acceptable, from among whom administration can then make their choice. Professional employees are not screened by selection committees, although in some cases their application forms are reviewed by these bodies. In these cases, local community residents are not a part of the personnel committee.

IDENTIFICATION

Recruitment practices are not unrelated to the question of whether the nonprofessional, particularly the indigenous nonprofessional, will identify with the project which employs him or the community from which he was recruited. When recruitment patterns select the upwardly mobile and job assignments encourage agency dependency, one can be reasonably certain that the project and the professionals will become the basic reference groups for these staff members. This is especially true for those whose desire for job security is strong.

The projects' experience confirms the numerous studies which describe the tendency of the less skilled and deprived worker to favor security over a risky but real opportunity for advancement. The nonprofessional's general experience in the job market leads him to be conservative in his approach to employment. Realizing that his opportunities for employment are restricted, he will eschew conflict with the agency and seek rapport, both deliberately and unconsciously, by internalizing agency professional norms.[9]

The experience of several projects with nonprofessional staff illustrates both their tendency to avoid certain nonprofessional, community-based activities and their tendency to emulate professional practice. In one of the projects nonprofessionals assigned to a service-provision program demanded to be supervised by means of regularly scheduled weekly conferences; to be assigned offices equipped with desks, blotters and lamps; and to utilize appointment books and office hours. These workers wished to avoid home visits to deteriorated buildings, babysitting, and homemaking assignments. However, nonprofessionals in the same agency who were assigned to community organization tasks did not pursue a similar pattern. The success of this latter group depended on viable community ties. Thus they frequented the streets and the tenements, preferred storefront locations, dressed casually, and avoided any distinctions which would separate them from the neighborhood residents. This supports our earlier conclusion that choice of reference group is strongly influenced by job assignment, in part because job assignment may influence the pattern by which employment security is best established.

The role of the professional in the community organization program offers yet another affirmation of the potency of job assignment in this respect. In a number of ways the professionals in this division were more community identified than the nonprofessionals in the other service divisions. They dressed casually, without tie or jacket, spoke the neighborhood argot, and did without desks, appointment books, and formal conferences.

UPWARD MOBILITY

Although some thought has been given to the problem of creating a career line through which the nonprofessional may be promoted and increase his earnings, no such plans are currently operational. Two patterns of advancement are discernible. The first brings the nonprofessional into common cause with professional, clerical, and maintenance personnel in a trade union organization. Advancement takes place collectively rather than individually, through negotiated agreements which include incremental salary increases and improved fringe benefits. Such benefits may include, as is the case in one project, the provision that current staff be given first option on all new job openings. This provision occasionally affords individual upward mobility for the nonprofessional.

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[9] Charles Grosser, "Perceptions of Professionals, Indigenous Workers, and Lower Class Clients" (New York: Columbia University School of Social Work, 1965), unpublished D.S.W. dissertation.

In the second pattern which is much more widespread, the individual advances by moving from one program in the community to another, seeking a higher rate of pay, or to a more responsible position within the project in which he is employed, which is paid on a higher basis. As a nonprofessional worker gains white-collar experience in a project job, he not only learns the skills that are required to do the work, but also becomes aware of employment possibilities in other CAP and OEO programs. Thus he might move from an ancillary or unrelated assignment to a direct-service assignment either within the same project or across several antipoverty programs.

WORKER RELATIONS

Generally the professional worker accepts his untrained, noncredentialed colleague in ancillary, bridge, or unrelated assignments within the project. Although there are a few professionals who feel that even in these areas the nonprofessional is inappropriately involved, in the main the professional views the untrained worker, particularly the indigenous worker, positively. In fact, the reaction of the professional is often somewhat romanticized. The vaunted virtues of the nonprofessional—spontaneity, ability to communicate, informality, style, and identification with clients—are often perceived in idealized fashion although they are frequently belied by performance. The tendency of nonprofessionals to exhibit quite different characteristics under certain circumstances is infrequently acknowledged. In addition to romanticizing the virtues of the untrained, the professional tends to assume—often erroneously—that he himself wholly lacks these qualities.

A survey conducted by one of the projects indicated that the attitudes and beliefs of nonprofessional staff tend to be highly judgmental and moralistic regarding the behavior of local target-area residents. They often regard illegitimacy, unemployment, drinking, and even boisterous asocial behavior as evidence of moral turpitude. They also tend to be somewhat fatalistic about a person's ability to affect his life. These observations indicate that the services of the nonprofessional might be utilized best if assignments were made selectively. The professional's objectivity and dispassion might be more functional in serving low-income clients in certain circumstances than the nonprofessional's congeniality and judgmentalness. However, it appears that little discretion in assignment was exercised consciously. When the project's view of the use of the nonprofessional was positive, the attitude was you can't have too much of a good thing; when the set was negative, there was a tendency to feel that it doesn't matter anyway. Either view resulted in indiscriminate assignments.

Even in the area of advocacy, it was found that under certain circumstances, nonprofessionals constituted an impediment to effective service. This was most striking where project staff had to negotiate on behalf of a trainee with a hostile community institution. Such institutions tend to be more favorably disposed when approached by a professional whose "style, language, and affect" are familiar. If what is being sought is immediate service for the trainee, the professional is obviously the best bridge between project and formal community institution. Several projects identified this phenomenon in its negative aspect, describing how staff members with a Spanish accent were summarily brushed aside when they phoned certain institutions for assistance, whereas these same institutions responded favorably when called by staff with no accent.

The reactions of nonprofessionals to professional staff tend to follow the patterns of identification described earlier. Those who are project-identified tend to be less critical than those who are community-identified. The community-oriented group shares the residents' perception of the professional as an outsider, something of a cold fish, too formal, bureaucratic, and not sufficiently sympathetic to the neighborhood. One is struck, however, by the clear-cut distinction made by virtually all community residents as well as by the nonprofessional staff between project professionals and professionals employed in other community-service organizations. The former group is accepted and viewed critically in the light of this acceptance; from the latter group however, there is virtually complete estrangement.

Strain between the formally certified and untrained staffs is most likely to appear when nonprofessionals are assigned to direct service responsibilities. In virtually every instance, responses indicated that the professional group reacted defensively, at least at first. They were unwilling to concede that there were significant portions of their jobs which could be given over to nonprofessionals. As a result, administrators were reluctant to experiment with direct assignments, anticipating that professional staff would object sharply.

Clearly, the professional in these instances saw the direct service assignment of the nonprofessional as an encroachment on his designated area of practice. It appears that this resistance owed more to the feeling that the use of untrained persons denigrated professional training than to any actual threat to job security. The problem was much more formidable in anticipation than in practice. Where nonprofessionals were actually given direct service assignments, accommodation soon resulted. Unfortunately, the timidity of administrators appears to have precluded many such assignments.

Personnel practices have proved to be a source of dissonance in the relationship of these two groups. As indicated, the problem of dismissing workers, particularly when the nonprofessionals call on community support, has created enmity between the staff groups, exacerbating feelings which may already have been present as a result of differential hiring practices, salaries, and working conditions. Personnel practices for nonprofessionals in a number of agencies are the same as those for maintenance and clerical staff rather than the more generous arrangements made with the professionals.

In some projects, direct assignments have evolved to the point where staff members from both groups are engaged in identical activities. In many cases, the only difference between them is a year or two of formal training, or training in a different area, with the result that the members of one group have professional certification. Yet the salary differential between such workers might be as much as 40 or 50 percent. Typically it is in the neighborhood of 25 percent, which still may amount to several thousand dollars a year.

TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR NONPROFESSIONALS

Before referring to problems of training relating specifically to nonprofessional personnel, we would do well to consider a few of the generic issues which underlie this area. In a war untrained troops are often forced into situations which they are unprepared to face. This happens because the time, resources, or necessary personnel to conduct proper training programs are lacking. It appears that in the current effort to socialize welfare and other services, which we have euphemistically dubbed a war, the same circumstance prevails. Funds are generally not forthcoming for training. Legislators, funding agencies, administrators, and beneficiaries prefer that funds be utilized to produce tangible, visible service programs. Statistics of persons served do not result from training programs. The qualitative differences which are produced are not sufficiently visible to meet the pressures being exerted. As a result, available resources are allocated to programs that produce quantitative results; training is not among these.

Some respondents indicated that the

training programs for project nonprofessionals were generally a part of the training program offered the total project program staff. This means that there was no formal orientation period and that in-service training consisted of staff meetings, in some instances regularly scheduled, in others, sporadic. Administrators feel some discomfort with this situation though it is clear that they have resigned themselves to it. Only one project administrator was candid enough to acknowledge, without probing, that he had no training program worth mentioning.

What separate programs exist for nonprofessional staff sometimes have a strong doctrinaire character. They are designed to encourage agency loyalty and interpret agency programs and policy. One respondent suggested that training served as a vehicle to handle the strong negative feelings that the nonprofessionals had toward such public agencies as the welfare department.

Nonprofessionals who had participated in new careers programs as client or project beneficiary did receive extensive training. This may be because the training itself is in this case service which can be statistically cited. One such program was quite imaginative and creative. The training was distinct from that offered to any other staff group and unlike the conventional functions of job orientation and administrative information. It focused on correcting deficiencies in basic education skills and exposing the careerist nonprofessional to new experiences. Trips around the State, attendance at meetings, participation in conferences and conventions, and visits to legislative bodies were part of the program. Attention was also focused on developing organizational, job-related, and general social skills.

Substantive training often took place at the inception of the earliest E&D projects (usually amalgams in which Federal, municipal and private funding sources participated). Here the training of both professional and nonprofessional staff was given much attention. Because these projects were charged to produce knowledge rather than substantial services, they were permitted the luxury of substantial training investments. One such program, which devoted 6 percent (some $300,000) of its budget to training, was able to assign three staff members in addition to outside resource personnel to a full-time training program for one group of local nonprofessionals. Once the total program was in full swing, such an arrangement was not possible; as nonprofessionals were added they were placed in their jobs with little orientation or training.

In two of the projects observed, the Manpower Administration project had turned over its training function to another agency. In both these cases, nonprofessional staff received high qualitative training experiences. In one case, a citywide agency had undertaken responsibility for training nonprofessionals for all public programs in the city, and the project reluctantly complied. The administrator of the training program complained that she was hard pressed by the groups she was serving to push trainees through quickly and avoid wasting time on nonessentials. The agencies made it clear that they regarded themselves as the proper training agents. They resented the central system and participated in it only to comply with the demands of the local CAP. In other cities, proposals to centralize training or negotiate training contracts with local academic institutions encountered similar resistance.

The centralized training program itself is quite comprehensive. Under the direction of a tull-time training supervisor a functional syllabus has been prepared which outlines the goals and methods of the training unit. The training is directed to building a broad knowledge base encompassing the rationale behind the program as well as preparation for specific tasks. Relationships between nonprofessionals and professionals, clients and the community at large, are explored. The presentation of material takes into account educational, cultural, and ethnic differentials. Local historical and traditional materials as well as such topics as the culture of poverty, the role of the family, and economic and educational theories and institutions are covered in the syllabus. It appeared, on the basis of a brief site visit, that this material was effectively presented to the trainees.

There is much [illegible]ommend this training arrangement. It reli[illegible]he service program of the burden of training and greatly increases the likelihood that training will take place. It raises the content level of training from concern with narrow operational issues to more creative exploitation of personnel and program.

In the second instance the training function was assumed by the National Committee for the Employment of Youth, New York City. In a sense this instance is a variant on the new careers model, except that it is specifically geared to meet the needs of manpower projects. In this regard it stands as perhaps the most effective and most relevant training device. Substantively this program is the most sophisticated reviewed. It consists of 12 weeks of on-the-job and classroom training combined with discussion and field trips. Program content is geared to the general and the specific, attempting to elucidate the conditions underlying the problems that the nonprofessionals will be coping with as well as their own functions in the projects. The program is staffed by three full-time professionals and operated under independent funding.[10] Apart from the substantive knowledge it generates, this program also serves as a training institution for other projects which hire graduates. It represents a most viable approach to training, combining the advantages of locating this function outside the service agency with the resources of an experienced, highly sophisticated staff. Local academic institutions will also lend themselves to this approach.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The employment of nonprofessionals in manpower projects has important consequences for the project's program, its target population, the nonprofessionals themselves, and the professional staff. Nonprofessionals have no influence on the substance of a manpower training program. In their capacity as project employees, they are directed to limit themselves to furthering organizational purpose. Although a nonprofessional may offer program in a unique style, he is discouraged from trying to alter its substance, nor could he, if encouraged. Projects see professionals and nonprofessionals in light of their own organizational needs, as solutions to problems of service provision, not as vehicles of institutional change or program innovation.

Issues of job security support these tendencies. Programs in training projects become locked in place, much as they do in continuing institutions. Issues of funding, politics, organizational self-interest, and the like are among the operational imperatives which determine program. Neither professional nor nonprofessional staff can alter this pattern through programmatic strategies. The actual substance of program will be altered by strategies that are economic, political, or organizational.

In visiting projects, particularly in the community itself, where many nonprofessionals pursue their assignments, the observer is impressed with the extent to which the target population has been engaged. The presence of the nonprofessionals is very much felt. Often they are regarded as "the agency" by the neighborhood population. Professionals are less well known and their presence is not felt to the same degree.

In areas like Hunter's Point in San Francisco, Hough in Cleveland, and East Los Angeles, all of which reflect severe deprivation and urban blight, nonprofessional staff were among the few social welfare personnel who remained engaged with these communities through their recent crisis. A stated goal of antipoverty program in the use of nonprofessionals is to relieve tensions. To this end local persons of influence as well as residents of a troubled area are sought out for nonprofessional assignments. One program effectively diluted the vigor of a militant local civil rights organization by hiring virtually all its leadership as nonprofessional staff. However, the militant mantle of the first organization promptly was seized by another group.

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[10] "A Demonstration On-The-Job Training Program for Semi-Professional Personnel in Youth Employment Programs" (New York: National Committee on the Employment of Youth, 1965), mimeographed.

Another project placed former activists ("hell raisers") in program positions, where they were quickly immersed in diverse complex procedures which inhibited their ability to perform. These nonprofessionals then found themselves in the position of having to explain to their neighbors that their demands could not be met for reasons having to do with funding, legislation, jurisdiction and the like.

In another context, the function of the local untrained nonprofessional was described as keeping the clients from "conning the professionals." It is being suggested here that the target communities join the projects in an interacting continuum. At the point of juncture nonprofessional positions provide a number of residents with channels for upward mobility; however, the essential issues of discord (unemployment, housing, education) remain.

In this regard, it can be noted that project employment has profound consequences for the nonprofessionals themselves. Most striking, and not at all atypical, is the high school tutor group mentioned earlier. Welfare recipients, school dropouts, unwed mothers, and the chronically unemployed have also utilized the opportunities afforded through project employment to enormous personal advantage. In such instances, standards of living have risen, debts have been cleared, permanent employment maintained and school continued for the nonprofessional employee and his family. These results are perhaps the clearest and least ambiguous positive consequence of nonprofessional employment.

Professional staff has probably been affected more than is generally acknowledged by the employment of nonprofessionals. For one thing, they find in the office, on their own side of the desk, as it were, attitudes, life styles, and points of view which heretofore they saw only in clients and usually characterized as pathology. They are forced by their nonprofessional colleagues to justify their practice in client-related terms. The effect on the provision of services seems to be salutary, for professionals in these projects are markedly more effective with the poor than are their counterparts in ongoing agencies.

Experience in the use of nonprofessionals has suggested that some professional services can be effectively performed by untrained personnel. Although this issue has by no means been resolved, the fact that it has been clearly stated is of no small consequence.

It appears that the advantages (particularly bridging gaps and fulfilling democratic ideology) which are sought through the utilization of nonprofessionals, will stem from three separate sources, one of which is nonprofessional indigenous status. Locating of the nonprofessional in a decentralized, neighborhood-based, comprehensive setting appears to be required to enable his contribution to come forth. In addition the organization (E&D project or State Employment Service) within which this program is located will determine the extent to which the qualities which inhere in the worker and are facilitated by the decentralized setting are utilized. Nonprofessional status is essentially instrumental; organizational policies and structural forms will determine in large measure the direction of this instrumentation. Perhaps the greatest source of disappointment in using this staff group has resulted from the expectation that their nonprofessional status in itself contained sufficient magic to transcend the limitations which plagued the rest of the project. We have tried to suggest that this is not the case.

TRAINING IMPLICATIONS

Certain trends are discernible in the use of nonprofessionals which may cause some concern. The patterns of service provision seem to cast the nonprofessional staff member with the low-income minority group client while the professional serves the more highly motivated client. The former provides direct, concrete service while the latter provides therapeutic and rehabilitative services. Clients of Employment Service administered programs will ordinarily find no occasion to have contact with the nonprofessional. Such contact is reserved for clients of the special training, antipoverty or E&D project which deals with the most disadvantaged segment of the population.

A similar pattern is apparent in other service programs as well. Nonprofessional teachers and medical aides tend to be utilized in the slum school and hospital ward. The use of nonprofessionals in this way reinforces the dual standard which already characterizes the participation of the poor in society. It may also be offered as a substitute for more schools, reorganized employment services, or higher salaries for nurses.

Problems of training nonprofessional staff are related to the issue of making the most efficacious use of them in broad social terms rather than narrow organizational terms. To achieve such ends it is necessary to resist the pressures to produce visible results often before the projects are prepared to do so. Adequate training will take time and resources which rarely have been available. Because of outside pressure, professionals and administrators too often have utilized nonprofessionals as the shock troops. As a result administrators have squandered the potential of this vast resource of service personnel for a quick increase in the gross statistics of clients served. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this waste is the widespread failure to make the nonprofessional an integral part of the service offered. As we have suggested, this failure is particularly noticeable in manpower programs. That it is not an inevitable consequence, implicit in the nature of employment training, is demonstrated by the several outstanding experiences cited.

Generally, the problem of replicating experience in using nonprofessionals is formidable. Local programs administered through such continuing agencies as the State Employment Service and the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training (BAT) are notably unresponsive to the potentials available to them. This lack of receptivity is a matter of public policy to be resolved in other quarters than the nonprofessional utilization programs.

We have cited negative factors first in the belief that the experience of manpower and other service programs has established the value and viability of using nonprofessional staff. The potential of this approach on all levels—meeting manpower needs, bridging the gap between service agency and the very poor, and creating new careers to alleviate chronic unemployment—has been demonstrated by the broad range of programs undertaken by the Manpower Administration.

THE FUTURE

Although it may not be politically expedient to join the issue, there are few who would seriously dispute the contention that the provision of welfare services is becoming an increasingly accepted function of government, serving millions of citizens. In contrast to the notion that welfare services should be provided as a matter of noblesse oblige to a select group of deserving poor, this model strives to provide its benefits as a matter of right available to the entire citizenry.

The provision of service by means of a small, specially trained professional elite is viable for limited programs. But this method cannot possibly be effective in programs providing massive benefits. The future of the service professions is therefore inevitably linked to the utilization of the nonprofessional. Narrow professional issues will eventually be set aside to meet the more significant national welfare issues which impinge upon us. The programs reviewed have indicated many possibilities. Policy makers and social planners will have to provide the contexts within which these possibilities can be fully exploited.

By way of a final comment, we would wish to make explicit what we believe to be the implicit conclusion of this brief report. We believe that recent programs using nonprofessionals have demonstrated the manpower resource they represent, the enrichment which this resource can provide program and the spate of direct and indirect benefits which may accrue to the total community. We do not believe that present programs have yet realized the potentials available from this new manpower source. The conviction that the nonprofessional not be exploited for short-range superficial, relatively insignificant goals is what moves us to some of the critical suggestions embodied in this paper. Diligent appraisal of past experience, and utilization of whatever insight such appraisal produces, may provide us with clues as to how the use of nonprofessionals may ultimately solve substantial problems and meet fairly significant long-range goals.

experimental and demonstration programs

research

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breakthrough for disadvantaged youth

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RESEARCH

Legislative authorization for the initial experimental and demonstration youth programs (E&D) was imbedded in title II of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA):

> "Whenever appropriate the Secretary [of Labor] shall provide a special program for the testing, counseling, selection, and referral of youths, sixteen years of age or older, for occupational training and further schooling, who because of inadequate educational background and work preparation are unable to qualify for and obtain employment without such training and schooling."

Although title II did provide for followup studies to determine whether the programs provided met the occupational training needs of the persons referred, it did not stress a research orientation.

Rather, research on manpower problems was part of title I of the act which, among other items, called for an appraisal of methods for promoting the most effective occupational utilization of and providing useful work experience and training opportunities for untrained and inexperienced youth.

This is important for an understanding of the context of the early E&D projects. The U.S. Department of Labor was to create special programs for unemployed youth and then see what effects these programs had. However, the legislative separation of the research mandate from the operational order, through which E&D projects were funded, tended to mute the development of systematic knowledge about the youth programs.

It was only after a period of trial and error that the inherent connection between the research of title I and the E&D programs of title II began to emerge. In 1964, the Manpower Administrator stated:

> It is the objective of the research, experimental and demonstration projects to finance, under title II of the act, novel approaches to improve techniques and to demonstrate the effectiveness of specialized methods in meeting the intractable employment and training problems of the hard-core unemployed as well as many other worker groups.[1]

A few months later, in summarizing the results of a Manpower Administration training conference, the Staff Director of the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Labor noted that many persons at the conference felt a need to distinguish between experimental projects and demonstration projects:

> Experimental projects ought to be used to test out ideas and to develop techniques. Clearly the analogy of a laboratory experiment was behind this thought. Then the demonstration could follow to test whether the experimental findings would work in a real-life service situation where the usual problems of numbers and bureaucracy would be found.[2]

Then, in 1965 Congress shifted the E&D programs from title II to title I of the MDTA. A clear distinction was thus drawn between regular training programs (title II) and experimental, developmental, demonstration, and pilot projects. Implied in the change was a mandate for the expansion of E&D programs, and a greater emphasis upon their research aspects.

Most of the activities of the E&D projects looked at in this paper from a research standpoint andedate the 1965 MDTA amendments, and the resulting clarification of the Labor Department's research program.

Although this pioneering effort of the Labor Department had multiple objectives, the focus of this chapter will be upon the development of new ways of dealing with employment and training problems of persons with special problems requiring innovative approaches.

The chapter examines the kinds of research carried on within the E&D projects and considers followup studies. It comments on some of the problems encountered in conducting research on action projects. The chapter concludes with some suggestions on structuring research within the Manpower Administration.

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[1] *Procedures for Initiation, Development and Approval of Research, Experimental and Demonstration Projects Under Title II of the MDTA* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, April 23, 1964), Manpower Administration Order No. 17-64.

[2] Curtis C. Aller, "Summary Report on the OMAT Training Conference" (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, August 24, 1964), p. 9, mimeographed. Submitted to the Executive Staff of the Manpower Administration.

RESEARCH WITHIN PROJECTS

Most of the directors of the E&D projects regarded their programs as service-rendering operations. They felt that the Department of Labor placed low priority on research and development of new knowledge.[3] As a result, most project executives "were unable to explain in what respects their programs were experimental or what they were demonstrating."[4] This is not to say that many program administrators did not make statements about what they were trying to do. But, any connection between these statements and the structure and operation of a program were tenuous at best. This readily can be seen in an examination of: The logical imperatives for demonstrating what the projects asserted they were demonstrating; the kinds of data collected by the projects; and project staffing.

LOGICAL IMPERATIVES

About 16 of the more than 50 projects reviewed did not state what they were demonstrating. A description of what they were attempting makes it clear that they were providing a service:

> **This demonstration program provides training to disadvantaged, unemployed youth in the landscape industry for which there is presently no systematic training, to convert laborers for whom there is little employment need into technicians, and to provide additional services as needed to ultimate placement.**
>
> **—Neighborhood Commons**
> **Washington, D.C.**

> **The program now being prepared will demonstrate selection, testing, counseling, training, job development, job placement, and followup of unemployed youth lacking adequate skills to obtain jobs in the Detroit job market.**
>
> **—Mayor's Youth Employment Project**
> **Detroit, Mich.**

Projects with goals like those described above had no hypotheses to test, no techniques or structures to try out. They focused directly upon getting youth into a particular kind of job, or any job at all. At best, they were demonstrating that unemployed youth could, somehow, be employed.

Similar to projects with no demonstration goals were 11 projects whose aims were dominated by slogans:

> **This program will demonstrate that individuals with a variety of problems, which create difficulties in their abilities to profit from conventional programs, can be trained and placed where job opportunities are available.**
>
> **—Northern Michigan University**
> **Marquette, Mich.**

There is no way to test an objective like this. It is an affirmation of belief. Although it serves to keep a staff working diligently, it provides no sense of what techniques or methods are to be used. If the particular project fails, this does not show that disadvantaged youth cannot be trained. And, if the project succeeds, no one is quite sure why. A variant of the slogan hypothesis is the following:

> **That the school setting can be effectively used for the counseling, retraining, placement, and postplacement counseling of disadvantaged out-of-school unemployed youth.**
>
> **—New York City Board of Education**

> **That experienced workmen can train disadvantaged youth in specific skills.**
>
> **—Mayor's Commission for Youth**
> **Syracuse, N.Y.**

These statements are also affirmations of belief. If the projects do not succeed, no one would conclude that the school setting cannot be used for counseling, or that workmen cannot train disadvantaged youth. And, if the projects succeed, all that has been demonstrated is that schools or experienced workmen are no barrier to upgrading the skills of disadvantaged youth, a point hardly worth demonstrating.

Most of the goals of the demonstration projects were of the following type:

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[3] Ibid., p. 10.

[4] Melvin Herman and Stanley Sadofsky, *Youth-Work Programs: Problems of Planning and Operation* (New York: New York University, Graduate School of Social Work, 1966), p. 48.

> To demonstrate the techniques through which rural youth can be trained for and integrated into urban employment.
>
> —Youth Study Board
> Lane County, Ore.

> [To demonstrate] techniques for identifying the necessary educational, vocational, and social counseling and other appropriate therapeutic services that should be provided to solve the problems of trainees in [a residential setting].
>
> —Pinellas County,
> Clearwater, Fla.

> To develop techniques that will strengthen the family base of neighborhood through raising morale and employment skills.
>
> —Action Housing, Inc.
> Pittsburgh, Pa.

These kinds of goals beg the question of a demonstration. Testing them calls for a program of research which none of the demonstration projects was in a position to mount. The design of research for testing these ideas calls for a series of carefully matched comparison groups with each group subjected to different techniques. In addition, the specific techniques to be tested must be identified. The majority of demonstration projects were not structured this way. Evidence as to what worked and did not work, especially the latter, was scanty, since under the service-rendering orientation of the projects the successes and failures among the clientele were lumped together in progress reports.

This problem is aptly described in one report:

> The fact that we are service- and not research-oriented means that our entire operation is geared toward getting a service to a member of the target population and not toward recording in a statistical way our every activity. We recognize, however, that it is important that we show what we do (and what we have not been able to do).[5]

Later in this same report we find that. . . .

> The statistical data in this report are designed to show some of what has happened to each youth referred to us since March of 1965. It *does not* show all of our activity. It shows only those activities in which a youth became successfully engaged and does not reflect the number of referrals to external or internal services.[6]

"Successful engagement" of a client as the core of statistical reporting distorts, in a fundamental way, what went on in a project. One does not know what techniques failed, nor, the final score of failure versus success. Furthermore, the fact that after several attempts a youth has finally been successfully engaged may tell us more about the operation of chance than about the successful technique. Under such circumstances, it is impossible to demonstrate the techniques through which hard-core youth can be motivated or trained.

The New York City Mobilization for Youth (MFY) experiment in work program methodology was the only project structured to test different training techniques. Youth in this project were assigned to one of eight different training situations. The eight situations represented combinations of vocational assessment, work sites and education.

The random assignment of a sizable number of trainees to one of these situations makes it possible for MFY: To say something about the effects of vocational assessment made by a worker as opposed to that derived from work samples; to tell something about the efficacy of training in work crews as opposed to training in regular job slots; and also to compare education carried out as part of the regular work day with the absence of education. Furthermore, the design of the project will permit an assessment of whether one of these techniques works better in combination with another. Assuming that the clientele and staff of MFY are no better and no worse than those of other projects and services, the results of the demonstration project will provide information of general use to manpower efforts.

Seven of the projects, especially those conducted by agencies with ongoing sheltered workshop programs, pinpointed some of their attention upon the impact of the E&D project on their regular operations. For example:

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[5] "Coordination of Related Services and Individual Planning for and Followup of Rejected Armed Forces Volunteers" (Washington: National Committee for Children and Youth, December 1965 and January 1966), progress report to U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Contract No. 82-08-49, p. 8.

[6] Ibid., p. 10, italics in original.

> What problems would arise from integrating this young group in an environment geared toward the needs of physically or emotionally handicapped people?
>
> —Jewish Educational and Vocational Advisory Services and Altro Workshops, New York City

The basic concern which generated these types of inquiries was whether the techniques developed for the physically, emotionally, or mentally handicapped could be succesfully applied to disadvantaged youth. An important aspect of this attempt was whether these two groups of clientele could be mixed in a single setting without causing disruptions to the training and production routine. By and large, goals of this type could be tested within the framework of the E&D projects. There existed norms of interaction and production which could be used as a reference point; and knowledge about the time that training took and the levels of skill which the techniques produced was available. Essentially, projects of this type were discovering whether methods which were appropriate for one kind of clientele could be extended to another.

Another type of statement which appeared in the goals of the seven projects is exemplified by the following:

> The project is attempting to demonstrate that (1) a thorough psycho-social diagnosis is basic to the rehabilitation of the hard-core youth, and (2) basic education, training, casework treatment focused toward developing motivation, and an opportunity for full-time employment are essential in reversing the trend from chronic dependency to self-support.
>
> —PEPSY, Cincinnati, Ohio

Terms like "is basic" or "is essential" imply that without the items specified in the statement no change will occur. Testing this kind of assertion calls for an experimental and control group design. Yet, only one of the E&D projects made use of such a design. The service function of the projects precluded such an approach. For example, the PEPSY project, whose goals have just been cited, virtually abandoned psychiatric examinations in 7 months because the examination "greatly limited the number of clients accepted into the . . . program." The one project which employed a control group was conducted by the Center for Community Studies of Temple University, Philadelphia. This project sought to determine whether the speech patterns of late adolescent girls, who were receiving secretarial training, could be altered to increase their employability. Unfortunately for this project, the quality of the secretarial training received by the girls in both the experimental and control groups was low. Consequently, there is doubt that many of the girls of either group will reach the minimum level of skill for employment. But, the project will still be able to tell something about the part played by improved speech patterns in the subsequent accomplishments of these girls.

Of prime importance in any demonstration project are unequivocal criteria by which to judge success and failure. These criteria are: (1) Empirically established norms of attainment, as in the workshop programs of Altro and JEVS; (2) comparison groups, as in MFY; or (3) experimental and control groups, as in the Temple University project. At most, nine of the more than 50 E&D projects were in a position to adequately test the techniques they were supposed to be using.

Lacking one of these criteria, some projects attempted to demonstrate success by reporting the proportion of trainees who had been successfully placed. It is impossible to judge success from such a number, however. Many things affect placement statistics, most notably the state of the local job market. Without a comparable group of youth who have not received the services of the project, it is impossible to tell whether the placement of 80, 50, or 20 percent of the trainees represents success for the project. Even a comparison of placement figures for the trainee group before and after receiving service is insufficient. This comparison assumes that the before and after figures would have been the same without the services of the project—a dubious assumption for most trainee groups.

The E&D projects represented a significant departure in the thinking and programs of the Labor Department. As such, they were under strong pressure to justify very quickly their existence. It is to the credit of the E&D spirit that few of the projects reacted to this pressure by lapsing back into standard routine practices. Most projects, however, found themselves scrambling to do, and point to, something—anything—which could be labeled an accomplishment. In such a climate, it is not surprising to find little energy devoted to the difficult, tedious, and time-consuming research tasks of clearly specifying objectives; devising ways of measuring the attainment of these objectives; and designing a method which would produce valid, reliable, and verifiable knowledge.

DATA COLLECTION

All of the E&D projects consisted of several components. The trainees while on the way to being prepared for employment went through a process in which different things happened at different stages. In general, each trainee first went through an intake process to see if he qualified. Next, an evaluation of his potentials was made. This resulted in a decision as to where he would be placed in the program. Then came the heart of the program. The trainee received some specific skill training coupled, in some cases, with work experience accompanied by one or another form of counseling. At the same time, he might also have received some basic education. Finally, the trainee was placed in a job with his progress sometimes followed up, and sometimes not. A sense of this process can be gleaned from the following excerpt from the Los Angeles Youth Opportunity Board employment program:

> The applicant was either referred by an agency, a person, or self-referred. He came to our attention by telephone or by appearing in person. The Intake Receptionist at this point determined whether or not the applicant was eligible according to age, residence, education, and employment for admission to the project. If the requirements are not met, the individual was scheduled for one intensive interview where an attempt is made to refer him to other available services.
>
> If the applicant was eligible, an appointment was made for the next intake sessions which have taken place on Tuesday and Wednesday of each week. One out of every 10 individuals was seen in individual intake and the remainder in group intake. The group intake sessions were planned for 2 full (6-hour) days. Involved in this process was collaborative group assessment of each individual's current status, future plans, and obstacles to be overcome. Participants received an orientation to the project; and basic data on each individual were collected by the group counselor. Planning for vocational training and job placement began in these sessions resulting in action which moved the individuals to consider a variety of alternatives which might have helped alleviate their immediate problems and remove obstacles to training and employment. The counselor who conducted the intake session had continuing responsibility for individuals in the group throughout their association with the project.
>
> Applicants ready for testing (at least fifth-grade reading ability) were given the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) on the following day at the project center. After involvement in continuing ongoing counseling sessions, the counselee may have made one or more of the following choices depending on his state of readiness:
>
> 1. Immediate placement in full- or part-time employment.
>
> 2. Referral to MDTA or other training programs, which may include basic skills training if necessary.
>
> 3. Involvement in one of the ongoing special groups, focused on:
>
> —Grooming
>
> —Preemployment preparation, including driver's education, employment interview participation, etc.
>
> —Individual or group tutoring in basic skills
>
> —Special individual or group sessions for those with special or unique problems or handicaps
>
> 4. Enrollment in high school, adult eve-

> ning schools, or junior college. (These referral resources work in close coordination with the project. Followup counseling may continue while the youth continues his education.)[7]

Data about the trainee—his progress, problems or activities—could have been collected at a number of points in the program: Intake, assessment, training, work experience, counseling, education, or placement. Most of the projects collected information only at intake and when the youth left the program by being placed or dropping out. Many collected information during assessment, and practically none obtained data about training or counseling.

As could have been anticipated, the service-rendering function of the projects controlled the kinds of information gathered. Thus, most data reported by the projects were service statistics—counts of the number of applicants accepted, the number of terminations and the reasons for terminations, the number of referrals made, and the number and type of placements made. These are the normal kinds of statistics kept by programs, and were routine with most of the project staff. Some of the projects produced statistical information of a more extensive nature, but these were logical extensions of the service statistics principle. For example, most projects reported the characteristics of their clientele more extensively than is customary. This was in response to pressures, both internal and external, to show that the program was reaching the hard-core youth. Likewise, the reporting of test data (for example, GATB, IQ) was conceived of in much the same way—to show that the project was servicing a segment of the community not handled by traditional employment services.

Although projects with several types of training did report the number of youth receiving each kind offered, missing from nearly all projects was routine information on what happened to trainees during training and counseling. Since one of the innovations of the demonstration projects was supposed to lie in the techniques and methods used, the absence of this kind of information was a serious oversight.

In this writer's opinion, however, the major innovation of the E&D projects was not the techniques used, but the concerted effort to reach the unreachable. Implicitly, I think, the projects were judged, and judged themselves, by the extent to which they filled their service quotas with members of the target population. If this was accomplished, then any failure to successfully place the trainee was attributed to bureaucratic entanglements, or the gross deficiencies of the trainees themselves—not to the inadequacies of the techniques or methods used by the project.

Without more information, it is impossible to tell much about the impact of the program upon the clientele. Given the data which the projects did collect, it was possible for them to tell what kinds of youth were attracted to the program and which ones were not. This is minimal information for assessing the impact of a program; yet, by virtue of collecting such data, the E&D projects were superior to most social service programs in knowing something about the results of their efforts.

It seems clear from an examination of the E&D reports that although service statistics are necessary, they are not sufficient. The relevance of statistics is determined by what the project is attempting to demonstrate. If the goal is to involve new kinds of clientele, or to place old kinds of clientele in new positions, then service statistics provide the key test of whether the demonstration is a success. But when the focus is upon the viability of some technique or method for increasing the employability of youth, additional data are needed. Implicit in a demonstration of the latter type is the notion of change. Either the client is supposed to change his values, attitudes, or skills; or a potential employer is supposed to change his criteria for acceptable employees; or both. Service statistics do not provide change data of this type, because the statistics tend to characterize the activity of staff, rather than clients.

This section has concentrated on the quantitative information produced by the E&D projects. In order to produce such data, a project must decide what items of information are relevant to its concerns, or its publics, and then establish an appropriate collection and reporting system. Thus, quantitative data are good guides to those things to which staff implicitly feels it must pay attention. The E&D projects also produced an impressive amount of qualitative information. This information tended to focus on either the motivations, circumstances, or potentialities of the target population; or upon intraagency or interagency conflicts. From a research point of view, the qualitative data about clients are suspect, since they involve inferences about the subjective states of large numbers of persons who were observed only briefly in a rather restricted context. On the other hand, reports of the entanglements of the agency are situation-focused, and are similar to participant observation in many respects; although one may question the objectivity of the reports, the repetition from project to project of the same confusions is impressive documentation of the problems involved in mounting a sizable demonstration program.

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[7] *End of the Year Report: Youth Training and Employment Project, East Los Angeles,* October, 1964, p. 7.

In summary, the data produced by the demonstration projects document quite clearly the kind of clientele served and the organizational problems involved in program implementation. But, the projects are far less clear about what happened to the clientele once the program began servicing them.

RESEARCH STAFFING

Most service-rendering agencies resist the detailed recordkeeping required for research. Concerned with getting a job done, action personnel attach little importance to the tedious and time-consuming task of maintaining accurate and reliable records.

Recordkeeping is typically assigned to one staff member who is responsible for producing counts of clients for periodic progress reports. In the E&D projects, this responsibility was usually given to an intake worker, a counselor, or a tester. As is true of service agencies, the program statistics were used to show what a fine job the agency was doing, rather than to advance understanding of the impact of the program upon its clientele. For many of the projects, especially those serving large numbers of clients, the statistical counts are inconsistent. The attention of staff, including that of the person responsible for recordkeeping, was upon rendering service, not making bookkeeping entries. As a result, the data collected tended to be unreliable. In short, the E&D projects, as a group, produced little systematic knowledge about the impact of their programs because almost no resources were expended in culling such knowledge.

In some instances, research was bootlegged into the projects. In the Action Housing, Inc. project, Pittsburgh, the director conducted some research on a group counseling project. In Detroit, the Mayor's Youth Employment project was thrown open to the research interests of a nearby university. The outstanding characteristic of these research efforts, and a few others like them, is their irrelevance to the basic strategies of the project. Freelance research of this type reflects the interests of the researcher, and this seldom coincides with those of the action program. The program is simply a means through which the researcher is able to find appropriate subjects for his own research activities. Although the researcher makes his findings available to the project, these findings customarily serve as window dressing since the research usually is not relevant to the concerns of the program's administrators.

In a few projects (notably the National Committee for Children and Youth of Washington, D.C. and Goodwill Industries of Springfield, Mass.), good use was apparently made of research consultants. In the NCCY case, research consultants from Howard University, Washington, designed a data collection and processing system that the program staff seemed to find quite useful. In the Springfield case, heavy use was made of a research psychologist who participated in a weekly staff conference.

Research on some of the projects was accomplished through a contract with a third party. The most common form was a followup study funded through the Manpower Administration. Its use will be examined later.

Only two of the E&D projects—MFY, and Temple University—treated research as more than a necessary appendage to the program. It is noteworthy that these were also the only projects which developed explicit hypotheses for testing, and then went about testing them. This is more than a coincidence. Both of these projects were controlled by researchers, and hence a research, rather than a service orientation, defined the roles of staff. The payoff in both these projects is whether or not the hypotheses guiding the program are proven or disproven; and not in the number of trainees who subsequently are placed in jobs.

CONCLUSIONS

Most E&D projects conceived of themselves as service-rendering agencies. They were determined to show that the hard-core youth normally ignored by the established employment services could be helped to obtain jobs. Project resources, accordingly, were allocated to serving a clientele, and nearly all of the projects failed to establish a reference point (such as a control or comparison group) which would enable them to substantiate the effectiveness of the program. The drive to succeed had one further consequence, namely a failure to adhere to a preestablished plan or set of techniques. The guiding principle of most of the projects quickly became, "find out what the kids need, and then break your back getting it for them." There is thus little research-supported knowledge of what strategies and techniques are effective in recruiting hard-core unemployed youth and then raising their work skills and habits.

FOLLOWUP STUDIES

From 1962 to 1965, 12 followup studies of E&D youth projects were funded. Reports from nine of these were available, plus a followup study of the Detroit project conducted by Wayne State University. Unlike the experimental and demonstration projects themselves, these studies were exclusively concerned with research. Freed from the persistent demands of daily operating crises, the staff of these studies could, and did, concentrate upon acquiring and interpreting data. Yet, the utility of their findings was usually of little help in developing knowledge about the effectiveness of the programs.[8]

Followup studies were to "determine what changes took place in the trainee while he was in the program and to identify the program factors which caused the changes (or failed to)."[9] Such studies are among the more difficult to do since they require identifying and then locating specific individuals. Older adolescents from deprived communities are, perhaps, the most mobile segment of society, and hence are extremely difficult to follow up. It is therefore quite remarkable that the studies were able to locate and interview as many former trainees as they did. From 82 to 100 percent of the former trainees were located by the eight studies reporting the success of their followup efforts; and from 51 to 95 percent of the trainees were actually interviewed. Trainees who were located but not interviewed were those in the Army, in prison, those who claimed not to have been in the program, and those who refused to be interviewed.

Basically, the followup studies focused on the current adjustment of the trainees. The prime criterion for assessing adjustment was whether the youth was currently working. In addition, most studies collected information on whether employment was related to training, the stability of employment, the trainees' opinions about the E&D project, and demographic data. Some of the followup studies also obtained information on the wages earned by the trainees, their aspirations for the future, satisfactions with their current job and the way they obtained it. Although the studies were usually able to report their findings in a statistical form, more often than not, the statistics were not particularly enlightening. There are two major reasons for this: (1) The nebulous objectives which guided the E&D projects; and (2) the time lag between the start of the project and its followup.

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[8] As will be shown later in this section, followup studies are useful for identifying administrative inefficiencies, and a number of administrative changes were made as a result of some followup studies. But, this use of followup studies is not what was intended in the original MDTA legislation. Nor, is it mentioned in subsequent administrative orders implementing the legislation.

[9] "Experimental and Demonstration Programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962: A Two Year Summary (1963-1965)," (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, [Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, Division of Special Programs], n.d.), p. 59. mimeographed.

NEBULOUS OBJECTIVES

All of the E&D projects, in one way or another, sought to increase the employability of youth. But the phenomenon of employment has several facets, and the success or failure of a project depends upon which facet a program is addressing. An example from the Detroit followup study may make this point clearer.

It points out that the jobs obtained by male trainees were overly concentrated in the operative, service worker, and laborer category.

"Whereas, almost half of the males received training in service occupations, a little over 10 percent were employed in this field. Although none of the subjects were trained as operatives, 40 percent were so employed. None were trained as laborers and almost one-fifth were trained in skilled work; yet almost one-fourth were employed as laborers and only one subject worked at a skilled job." [10]

Obviously there was little continuity between the kind of training youth received and the kind of jobs they subsequently obtained. The simple question, however, is whether there *should* be any. If the project was training youth for specific occupations, then it ought to be judged by the proportion of youth who obtained and held jobs for which they had been trained. But if the project sought to motivate youth to seek and hold employment, or to develop better work habits and attitudes, then whether a trainee held a job for which he had been trained is less relevant than whether he held a job at all. The goals and objectives of the program do not resolve this question; and the finding, though striking, has few implications for the goals and methods of the program.

In brief, followup data are useful when the results which will denote success of the program are specified before the followup begins. In the absence of a clear understanding of program goals, the followup results are threatening, irrelevant, or both.

TIME LAG

None of the followup studies was funded or began at the same time as the demonstration project. From 3 to 18 months elapsed between the start of the youth program and the start of its followup. Now, it may seem obvious that a followup study should not begin at the same time as its program. But, this is not the case. Followup studies are conducted to find out something about the influence of a program in the lives of its participants. The data for discerning such influence are not only those which pertain to the trainee after the program, but before and during it as well. The lag in starting the followup program meant that in many instances the research team was unable to link postprogram status to anything that happened within the program. As one followup study reported:

"The research team did not have the opportunity to observe the work training, counseling, and other evaluative and training techniques utilized by the project. This prohibited the researchers from giving technical assistance in terms of the vital importance of recording and obtaining meaningful subject data." [11]

As a result of their inability to determine the quantity and quality of the data collected, these researchers found an absence of any indication on the file record "which would distinguish between those who merely applied for the program and those who received a full course of instruction."[12] Under these circumstances, the best the followup study could do was to identify some of the characteristics of "successful" and "unsuccessful" trainees. But, it could not, with any degree of confidence, shed light on the strengths and weaknesses of the program it was examining.

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[10] Denny Stavros and Allan Kobernick, *A Follow-Up Study of a Sample of Trainees from the Mayor's Youth Employment Project* (Detroit: Wayne State University, March 1966), p. 9.

[11] Arthur E. Smith, Hardin A. Collins, and Joseph L. Meindl, *A Follow-Up Study of the Experimental and Demonstration Manpower Program Entitled Evaluation and Skill Training of Out-of-School, Hard Core Unemployed Youth for Training and Placement* (St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis University Department of Education, 1965), pp. iii-iv.

The inadequacy of the St. Louis data reflects, in part, the normal confusions of a new program and a new recordkeeping system. But, as in the case of the Hunter's Point followup study, even well-established recordkeeping systems frequently turn out to be inadequate. In this followup study, the researchers were relying upon the statistical reporting procedures of the Employment Service for knowledge of what happened to youth in the program. At the time of the analysis, however, the research staff discovered that the Employment Service's data are "designed to describe the activities of staff, not the movement of clients from one social psychological state to another."[13] As the researchers are careful to point out, the data collected by the San Francisco Employment Service are neither better nor worse than that collected by other employment offices. It is simply that the data are collected for administrative purposes, and these are not identical with research purposes.

Without appropriate program data, followup studies cannot document success and failure, except in unusual circumstances. An example of the unusual circumstances is the followup study of the Lorton project. This study begins with the following paragraph:

"The Follow-Up team believes that the present MDT program at Lorton Youth Center failed to demonstrate that 'intensified counseling, vocational guidance and job development' had any significant effect on the enrolled trainees. It further believes that the present program failed to offer intensified counseling, vocational guidance, or job development."[14]

The study then goes on to document this assertion by showing that the various elements of the proposed program either failed to come into existence or were staffed by unqualified personnel. The study also showed that the recidivism rate for trainees was higher than that for comparable populations. The Lorton program was one which had completely collapsed. This is the unusual circumstance which followup studies can adequately document.[15] But, when programs are not utter failures, followup studies are hard pressed to produce relevant data. As appendages to an ongoing program, and dependent upon it for information about what went on in the program, followup studies customarily must work with unbalanced data. The data are unbalanced because administrative records concentrate upon problems in the organization, not the routine things that are working well.

CONCLUSIONS

There are some who believe that all of the followup studies financed by the Department of Labor contain extensive documentation of the shortcomings of the programs. After reading them, one comes away with a sense of the pitifully inadequate techniques that were tried, the oversights of programers, and the naiveté of administrators. Yet, followup studies do have a use. They are, essentially, a retrospective look at the shortcomings of a program, and because of this are most effectively used to spot "bugs" in an ongoing program.[16]

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[12] Ibid., p. 8.

[13] Robert C. Stone, Seaton Manning, Velma Parness, and James Nolan, *An Evaluation of San Francisco's Youth Opportunities Center* (San Francisco: San Francisco State College, Institute for Social Science Research, 1965), p. 62.

[14] *Final Report IV: Experimental and Demonstration Manpower Program for Training and Placement of Youthful Inmates of the Youth Center, Lorton, Va.*, The Bureau of Social Research, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., February 1966, p. 1.

[15] In commenting upon an earlier draft of this paper, one reviewer asserted that some projects had hidden agendas which were much more important than the manifest goals of the project. A project might be funded, for example, to demonstrate to institutional personnel that they could not operate an employment program without fundamental changes in staffing patterns; thus laying the basis for institutional change. Persons conducting followup studies should, of course, be informed of such hidden agendas so that their research can be made relevant to the real interests of the funder. Equally important, however, is the question of the efficacy of such roundabout techniques. It would seem that in the above example, a more obvious way of bringing about staffing changes would be a project which would show the success that follows when changes are made. Showing an institution that it has not successfully operated a new program is no evidence that the institution needs a new staffing pattern.

THE PROBLEM OF RESEARCH IN AN ACTION AGENCY

The production of verified knowledge is not something that automatically comes about as a by-product of other activities. Rather, conscious efforts must be devoted to its production or recognition. Action programs typically proceed on the basis of guesses and hunches about the nature of the clientele they are trying to serve, and the effectiveness of the resources at their command. Research, when it is employed by action agencies, is typically marginal to the main activities of the program. This, in turn, means that a clearly defined way of producing useful research knowledge, and then using it, must be developed. The strategy for accomplishing this is far from worked out, but there is a growing body of understanding about barriers to the successful use of research in action endeavors.[17] The barriers, in large part, spring from differences in the orientation of research and program staffs; and the resulting differences in the organizational roles they occupy.

DIFFERENCES IN ORIENTATION

The practitioner seeks to provide a specified service to a specified clientele. The researcher does not. His goal, rather, is to add to the theoretical or methodological body of knowledge in the social science discipline from which he comes. The payoff for him is not in the number of clients successfully served, but in the number of worthy publications which emerge from his labors. These contributions are most likely to lie in new techniques for studying a problem; or in data which illuminate a basic social science principle.

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[16] An example of the kinds of things which followup studies can produce is contained in: *Final Report IV: Summary and Recommendations Resulting from the Follow-Up Study of Washington Action for Youth, Neighborhood Commons, and Goodwill Industries Experimental and Demonstration Projects,* The Bureau of Social Research, The Catholic University of America, August 1965.

[17] See among many others: H. Baumgartel, "Leadership, Motivation and Attitudes in Twenty Research Laboratories" (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, 1955), unpublished doctoral dissertation. Michael P. Brooks, "The Community Action Program as a Setting for Applied Research," *Journal of Social Issues,* January 1965, pp. 29-40. Amitai Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), esp. pp. 226-261.

Lawrence K. Frank, "Research for What?" *Journal of Social Issues,* 1957, Supplement Series No. 10. Howard E. Freeman and Clarence C. Sherwood, "Research in Large-Scale Intervention Programs," *Journal of Social Issues,* January 1965, pp. 11-28. Mary E. W. Goss and George G. Reader, "Collaboration Between Sociologist and Physician," *Social Problems,* July 1956, pp. 82-89.

Alvin W. Gouldner and S. M. Miller, *Applied Sociology: Opportunities and Problems* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1965), esp. chs. 3, 8, 28, and 29. Robert W. Lamson, "The Present Strain Between Science and Government," *Social Forces,* May 1955, pp. 360-367. Hope Leichter and Judith Lieb, "Implications of a Research Experience with Caseworkers and Clients," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service,* Spring 1960, pp. 313-321.

Margaret Barron Luski, *Interdisciplinary Team Research: Methods and Problems* (Washington: National Education Association, National Training Laboratories, 1958). Robert K. Merton, "The Role of Applied Science in the Formation of Policy: A Research Memorandum," *Philosophy of Science,* Vol. 16, 1949, pp. 161-181. Donald C. Pelz, G. D. Mellinger, and R. C. Davis, *Human Relations in Research Organizations* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1953).

Herbert A. Shepard, "The Value System of a University Research Group," *American Sociological Review,* August 1954, pp. 456-462. Walter L. Slocum, "Sociological Research for Action Agencies: Some Guides and Hazards," *Rural Sociology,* June 1956, pp. 196-199. Donald Young, "Sociology and the Practicing Professions," *American Sociological Review,* December 1955, pp. 641-648.

On the day-to-day level, this difference in goals often means that the researcher eschews writing memoranda of use to the administrator of the program he is researching. Instead, he collects data or prepares reports of use to some future, and anonymous, program administrator; or of use to the researcher's colleagues.

Another way to regard this difference in outlook is to state that the researcher is not loyal to the action agency, but owes his allegiance to the social science discipline in which he received his training, and in which his professional advancement lies. It is not that the researcher is disloyal to the organization in which he does his research. But that he sees a "higher loyalty" than the program he is studying, and sets his priorities by that. Thus, the researcher may hold back on information of use to the practitioner because it may alter the development of the phenomenon he wishes to study. For example, a researcher may discover that the trainees in a youth employment program hold unrealistic expectations of what the program is going to accomplish. Instead of conveying this information to program staff, however, he may decide to keep it to himself, because he perceives an opportunity to study what happens when expectations are not fulfilled.

The researcher is, in the full sense of the term, a student. He is trying to learn something. As a consequence, he is likely to abhor making decisions about the practical meaning of his data. This he argues should be left to others who must bear the responsibility for those decisions. In short, the researcher is not an activist, and is unimpressed with the practitioner's need to do something on the basis of whatever information happens to be available at the time. The researcher is perfectly content to say that he does not know, and has no suggestions to offer. Worse yet, from a practitioner's point of view, he sometimes asserts that he has no interest in the things that are troubling the practitioner and consequently not only does not know, but will never make the effort to find out.

When the researcher does venture into the decision-making realm, his suggestions are either abstract, or greatly colored by his desire to add to knowledge. His suggestions, therefore, are more likely to be focused upon adding to the storehouse of knowledge than upon more effectively serving the clientele. These are not always the same thing.

Finally, although abdicating the role of decision-maker, the researcher is frequently good at ex post facto explanations of what went wrong. Once the facts are in, the researcher usually does know; and his explanations frequently make it sound as if what did happen was inevitable. Of all of the strains between researchers and practitioners, this is perhaps the greatest—and the least discussed. The practitioner is usually defensive about not having a foresight comparable to the researcher's hindsight; while the latter feels that he has done a useful piece of analysis.

DIFFERENCES IN ORGANIZATION

It is clear that the researcher is not supposed to make a direct contribution to the immediate service of clients. But he is supposed to make a contribution. Just when and what kind of contribution is typically vague and uncertain. The absence of a direct service function means that the researcher's role is marginal to the central concerns of the operating agency. Although this is fine with both researcher and practitioner, two things follow from it that are of grave concern to both. First, research is customarily defined as an expendable luxury. Second, research has to be fitted into some kind of role which has meaning for the day-to-day activities of the organization.

Service organizations are judged by how well they serve clients, and how little annoyance they cause others while doing so. There has yet to be an action agency with all the resources it needs to do a specific job, hence all action agencies are constantly alert for additional resources and ways in which to make what is at its disposal more pertinent to its service task. In such a situation, funds and personnel allocated to research are fair pickings for the resourceful program administrator who can divert—or twist—them to his own ends. When reallocations of money and personnel are necessary, research is an instant and prime target.

The research response to this latent and sometimes overt threat is to erect barriers which make stealing its money and personnel relatively difficult. A favorite device is to construct or find a separate organization to do the research (for example, a university), and to protect the funds flowing into the research organization by a long-term contract. The action agency, in effect, commits itself to supplying the research organization with a stipulated sum for a specified time period, regardless of what happens to the action agency. For its part, the research organization agrees to produce a product which the action agency feels will be of use in its efforts to serve clients.

Should an independent research organization not be feasible, researchers will try to protect their funds by getting long-term research commitments from the funding agency. Or, better yet, seek its own funds from a source other than that of the action agency. In both these cases, the objective of the researcher is to build his own constituency which is committed to the support of research.

Whatever strategy researchers use to protect their enterprise against the forays of practitioners, one likely consequence is a further estrangement of research and service. Each worries first about protecting his own domain, and secondly about mutual obligations and responsibilities.

Despite their differences, and despite the defenses each erects against the other, research and practice see a need for each other. At the very least, research needs a setting in which to do research; and practice finds it prestigeful to report that research is being conducted on its programs. Usually, the basis for cooperation is much broader. Because of the use that each sees for the other, some way of getting along together has to be found, and this customarily means defining a service-relevant function for research that is meaningful to practitioners.

A complete catalog of the kinds of service roles taken on by research is not available, but some sense of the variety and range of these roles can be discerned. One favorite of researchers is that of historian of the project or organization. Here the avowed purpose of research is to produce a detailed account of what went on so that other practitioners may learn from the experiences of the action agency. This role, unfortunately, can break down. Practitioners are much more concerned with what is of use to them, than with what is of use to other practitioners. The researcher who attempts this role usually finds himself reiterating what every practitioner in the organization knows; or attempting to develop something which is no longer of concern to the agency. The cooperation of practitioners, necessary to maintain the historian role, usually breaks down when the learning of other practitioners relates to the past blunders of the organization.

A role into which practitioners like to cast researchers is that of public relations. Here, the intent is to have research authenticate the good works of the organization through facts and figures which have research credibility. As noted before, however, researchers owe their loyalty to an academic discipline, not to the organization, and this role tends to wither away. The role tends to crack when the researcher seems, from a practitioner's point of view, to give more prominence to the shortcomings and failures of the organization than to its successes. On his part, the researcher is extremely wary of doing anything which seems to taint his scientific objectivity with program advocacy. His professional standing among his research colleagues would suffer tremendously should it be rumored that he was merely a front-man or apologist for the action organization.

Sometimes research is assigned the role of planning future programs. This assignment, on the face of it, seems sensible. Research knowledge and techniques are to be put to use in discovering the weaknesses in current activities, and then devising ways of eliminating those weaknesses. This role is a relatively new one, and abundant evidence on it is lacking. Several things do seem to happen, though. Since researchers are students, rather than activists, they do a creditable job of discerning the weaknesses in programs. But the development of ways of overcoming those weaknesses are usually beyond their professional competence. They are, however, adept at spotting weaknesses in proposed solutions. The tentative evidence seems to indicate that the researcher with a planning function assumes one of two other roles. Either the researcher becomes defined as the administration's spy, or as the organization's gadfly and critic. This latter role, of course, is not likely to win friends within the organization. The researcher in such a role is likely to find the cooperation he needs slowly disappearing, and along with it the information necessary to play the role of critic.

Another major role for research is that of compiling service statistics. Here the researcher's proclivity for numbers is seized upon, in an effort to make some sense of his activities. Since the researcher counts things, he might as well count things of relevance to program people. This is a viable role when: (1) The things practitioners need counted do not change; and (2) the researcher is not left to gather the basic data on his own. In the absence of the first, the researcher rapidly concludes that practitioners don't know what they need counted, and he will soon abandon this service. In the absence of the second, the necessary data for counting are not likely to be provided by practitioners since the request is viewed as stemming from research, and not from the line structure of the organization. In the situation where the action agency controls research, however, there is a tendency to limit research to this "social bookkeeping" role, with consequent dissatisfaction on the part of researchers about their inability to do meaningful research on the agency's program, problems, and policies.

These four seem to be the major roles taken on by research, but there are others. In at least one organization the preparation of next year's budget fell to the research staff. In several agencies, the research staff has functioned as a safety valve for personnel gripes and complaints. In others, it has assumed a kind of personnel counseling and psychiatric function. In still others it has become a core of speech writers for top administrative personnel. And, it is not unknown for a one or two-man research staff to take on a kind of "helper's aide" function, running errands and carrying messages.

It must be stressed that the necessity to define a direct service function for research is a necessity felt by both practitioners and researchers. The former need to make the latter relevant to their world, and for their part, researchers find it difficult to consistently maintain an above-the-battle stance. Whatever role is taken on by research, the point is that it affects the kind of research that is ultimately produced; and hence the relevance of that research to agency operations and the development of knowledge.

Tensions and strain between researchers and practitioners are inevitable. The challenge is to structure a project so that these tensions do not disrupt the attainment of project goals; or to utilize the strains to enhance project goals. This is the subject of the next and final section of this paper.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR E&D PROGRAM RESEARCH

E&D projects are of four main types: (1) Developmental projects—intended to structure existing knowledge and ideas for translation into manpower programs and policies; (2) pilot projects—intended to develop new programs; (3) program experimentation—intended to rigorously test alternative program elements; and (4) demonstration projects—intended to show the feasibility of new programs and to stimulate their adoption by operating agencies. What can be learned from the research experiences of the E&D projects of 1962-65 that can be incorporated into this structure?

First and foremost is the simple lesson that operating programs do not automatically produce much systematic research knowledge. The most useful data produced by operating programs pertain to the organizational problems of a new venture. This is a consequence of what program administrators are involved in, must analyze, and must understand. But, this kind of knowledge is quite different from the short- or long-run effects the program is having upon its clientele. It seems clear from the E&D

experience that when operating personnel are given research responsibilities, the latter receive scant attention. Personnel within operating programs are judged by their program contributions, and it is only natural for research to be given short shrift. If research knowledge is to be the product of a particular project, this must be made clear from the beginning, and staff responsibilities defined and evaluated according to their contribution to the development of knowledge. If research is the goal, then research must have priority.

Second, the four types of projects can be sequentially related to each other. On the basis of the organized knowledge produced by dedevelopmental efforts, pilot programs can attempt to devise new programs and techniques. These can then be subjected to rigorous testing through program experimentation, and once proved in the laboratory, can be adapted to ongoing operations through demonstration projects. It is to be expected that a programatic idea will be shaped as it goes through this process and may look quite different at the end than it did at the beginning. The types of projects differ in their goals and in the roles played by researchers and practitioners according to the legislative roots and executive implementation of the MDTA from 1962 to 1965.

Developmental projects are, in the above conception, straight research activities. They are efforts to structure data and ideas, and as such must be controlled by researchers. Program staff would have a minimal role, serving as consultants, if needed, and perhaps as subjects. Since developmental research can be a never ending process, some limit on it must be established. It is suggested that a maximum of 3 years be set for a single project, although most developmental efforts should take much less time. Developmental research should be funded on the basis of priority needs of the Manpower Administration as described in the Brager Report.[18] And the payoff in such projects is the creation of new knowledge, or correction and amplification of old knowledge.

Pilot projects are tryouts of new program methods in old settings, or of old methods in new settings. They should resemble those E&D projects which were concerned about the impact of a program innovation upon their ongoing operations. As such, they require the direction of an expert program person. Research should assume a consultative role similar to that developed by Goodwill Industries of Springfield, Mass. As tryouts, pilot programs should not extend more than 2 years. Within that span of time it should be clear whether a specific program innovation holds promise or not. Like developmental projects, they should be funded according to the priority needs of the Manpower Administration. Their payoff, however, lies in the creation of promising program technology.

Program experimentation is a full-fledged research effort intended to verify the effectiveness of one or more program methods. The model for this kind of research is the MFY project. The project would be run by a researcher, with a program person as operating head. These experiments should run from a minimum of 2 years to a maximum of 5 years to allow ample opportunity for stable results to appear. The criteria for funding research of this type would be the likelihood of the research to contribute to the solution of national problems, and the soundness of the research design. The payoff in this effort is verified knowledge of the effectiveness of program elements, and, in turn, the implications of this knowledge for manpower policies.

Demonstration projects focus on feasibility questions and should therefore have practitioners in control. The research role would be to evaluate the outcome of the demonstration, or to conduct a followup study to spot deficiencies in the operations of the program. Whereas the research role in the first three types of research is largely that of program planning and development, demonstration projects call for a research role more like that of project historian with "social bookkeeping" responsibilities. The projects should run a minimum of 3 years and a maximum of 5 years. They would be funded only when the pool of knowledge about a program innovation indicated the likelihood of success. The criterion for evaluating the demonstration effort should be better service to clients. The standard for making this judgment must be clear, precise, and unequivocal.

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[18] *Program Research and Demonstration in the Manpower Administration,* Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor, June 15, 1965, pp. 7-10.

One final point needs to be stressed. It is implicit in the time which should be allotted to each of the four types of research. A single idea which emerges in developmental research may take up to 15 years to become firmly established in operating programs. Research is a precise and painstaking activity. It is therefore a long one. It cannot, by its very nature, produce quick answers to transitory or crisis problems. Research should, therefore, be concentrated on persistent problems which are amenable to long-term solutions. Although the 15-year investment may seem unrealistic, it is certain to produce savings from the truncation of ineffectual or impractical programs and their replacement by effective ones. Systematic knowledge of effects not only improves programs, but also reduces the hidden harm of programs which promise much but deliver little.

appendix

APPENDIX

E&D Projects for Disadvantaged Youth
Discussed in this Report and Abbreviations Used

STATE	*CONTRACTOR*
Alabama	Alabama State Board of Correction Draper Correctional Center Elmore, Ala.
California	Neighborhood House, Inc. I (NH) (Job Upgrading project)
	Neighborhood House, Inc. II North Richmond, Calif.
	San Francisco Committee on Youth (Hunter's Point project) San Francisco, Calif.
	Youth Opportunities Board of Greater Los Angeles I (YOB) (Youth Training and Employment project) (YTEP)
	YOB II
	YOB III Los Angeles, Calif.
Connecticut	Community Progress, Inc. I-IV (CPI) New Haven, Conn.
Washington, D.C.	Davis Memorial Goodwill Industries
	National Committee for Children and Youth I (NCCY) (Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Md.)
	NCCY II
	Neighborhood Commons
	United Planning Organization (UPO)
	Washington Action for Youth (WAY) Washington, D.C.
Florida	Pinellas County Board of Public Instruction Clearwater, Fla.
Illinois	Job Opportunities through Better Skills I (JOBS)
	JOBS II Chicago, Ill.

Iowa	Council of Social Agencies Des Moines, Iowa
Massachusetts	Action for Boston Community Development, Inc. (ABCD) Boston, Mass.
	Goodwill Industries of Springfield Springfield, Mass.
Michigan	Community Action for Detroit Youth (CADY)
	City of Detroit (Mayor's Youth Employment project) (MYEP) Detroit, Mich.
	Northern Michigan University Marquette, Mich.
Missouri	Jewish Employment and Vocational Service II (JEVS) Kansas City, Mo.
	JEVS I St. Louis, Mo.
New Jersey	New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity (NJ OEO) Trenton, N.J.
New York	Mobilization for Youth I (MFY)
	MFY II
	MFY III
	MFY IV
	(Some MFY's organized Urban Youth Corps) (UYC)
	New York City Board of Education
	New York City Youth Board
	Police Athletic League (PAL)
	(Job Opportunities and Employment for Youth project) (Joey)
	(Combined program, PAL-Joey)
	Vocational Advisory Service (VAS)
	(VAS-Altro workshops)
	Young Men's Christian Association of Greater New York (YMCA)
	(Bedford-Stuyvesant project)
	New York, N.Y.
	Mayor's Commission for Youth I (MCY)
	MCY II
	Syracuse, N.Y.

North Carolina	Office of the Governor of North Carolina Raleigh, N.C.
Ohio	Citizens Committee on Youth I (CCY) (Preparation and Employment Program for Special Youth project) (PEPSY)
	CCY II Cincinnati, Ohio
	Community Action for Youth (CAY)
	Cleveland Urban League-National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (UL-NAACP)
	Cleveland, Ohio
Oregon	Lane County Youth Study Board Eugene, Ore.
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia Special Youth Council for Community Advancement
	Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS)
	Temple University Philadelphia, Pa.
	Action Housing, Inc. (AH) Pittsburgh, Pa.
Virginia	Lorton Youth Correctional Center Lorton, Va.
	Wise County School Board Wise, Va.
West Virginia	Action for Appalachian Youth (AAY) (Kanawha County Employment of Youth project) (KEY) Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin	Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS) Milwaukee, Wis.

Explanation of Other Abbreviations Used

AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
BAT	Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
BES	Bureau of Employment Security
BWTP	Bureau of Work-Training Programs

CAMPS	Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System
CAP	Community Action Programs
CAUSE	Counselor Aide University Summer Education
CEP	Concentrated Employment Program
CSC	U.S. Civil Service Commission
EOA	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
ES	Employment Service
E&D	Experimental and Demonstration Projects
HEW	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
HUD	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
HRD	Human Resources Development
IPRC	Interagency Project Review Committee
MDTA	Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962
MIND	Methods of Intellectual Development
NAM	National Association of Manufacturers
NIMH	National Institute of Mental Health
NILE	National Institute of Labor Education
NYC	Neighborhood Youth Corps
OE	U.S. Office of Education
OEO	Office of Economic Opportunity
OJT	On-the-job training
SRS	Social Rehabilitation Services
STEP	Solutions to Employment Problems
USES	U.S. Employment Service
VISTA	Volunteers in Service to America
YOC	Youth Opportunity Center

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